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PAPERS READ

BEFORE

THE ETHNOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

I.—*Outline Sketch of the Principal Varieties and Early Migrations of the Human Race.* By Adm. FitzRoy, F.R.S.

I CAN offer only such observations as have been made in visiting many parts of the world, and recorded by drawings as well as by written notes in aid of memory. During more than thirty years the study of varieties of the human race, and endeavours to trace their early migrations, have been particularly interesting to me; and it has so happened that opportunities have occurred of following up the subject to a limited extent practically.

Gentlemen, now present, have likewise visited many places—and as they, with others in this room, have been assisted in similar researches by talent and learning to which I can lay no claim, their judgment is appealed to respecting the following observations.

My two principal objects will be to show how rapidly (comparatively speaking) variations of the human race may have occurred; and how easily their earlier migrations may have been effected.

Finding that variety of features, and, generally speaking, external form, depend much on transmitted qualities, on education, habits, and intellectual as well as physical developments, I doubt whether a race can be traced to its origin by features only, or characteristic expressions; although a peculiar type may prevail through many generations, provided that they continue under similar influences.

In Europe, it is now difficult to follow the indications of those very numerous varieties that have arisen during the last three thousand years, unless aided by the test of language. Not to mention other countries—Ireland, Scotland, and Wales

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are instances in point, where variations in appearance have been caused by intermarriage, though the old language remains.

To attempt identification in Europe by colour of hair, eyes, or complexion, seems more misleading than it would be to apply such a test to animals.

First—let me mention some facts, illustrative of rapidly-caused variations in the great family of man, which drew my attention to the subject long ago, and are still, in my humble opinion, very striking.

But I would preface them by remarking that, having always taken a keen interest in observing the various shapes, sizes, heads, features, colours, and other peculiarities of our race; in attending to the general development of human specimens, as well as to those physiognomical and phrenological peculiarities which are the most reliable, where education has not greatly masked, if not altered, the born or derived nature; I have gradually acquired the conviction that form, especially of the head and features, is intimately connected with intellectual or moral qualities, with habit and education, and with hereditarily transmitted characteristics:—and that colour results from intermarriage, not from climate (except in a modified degree) being dependent on the colours of parents.

That external forms, especially of the head and features, depend considerably on mind and mental discipline, not only recent, but of progenitors; while those shapes are themselves exponents, if not agents, however mysteriously, of the very qualities that caused them, I cannot now doubt.

To the wonderful operation of our immaterial or spiritual existence, the cerebral, nervous, and muscular organization, appear equally indispensable. We combine abstract thoughts, or cause a blush, as easily as we bend a finger, or raise a weight —and as incomprehensibly.

Practically, then, it is not surprising to find some savages so very different from civilized men in outward features, as well as in mind; or to see them, where uninfluenced by civilization, in the same condition now as that in which they were during the earliest historical ages.

Few observers can see the uneducated individuals of even British or Irish families, in iron, or coal, or wild districts, without remarking their resemblance in features (not in colour) to barbarous savages.

In some of those localities, and, indeed, elsewhere, one occasionally sees countenances so like those of the lowest human beings, that it is impossible to avoid the conclusion that if such

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people were in the circumstances of wild tribes, they would become like them.

In general intelligence, however, in perceptive faculties, and bodily qualities, such individuals are usually much inferior to ordinary savages, or wild men.

Let me now submit my facts. In former years certain foreign works professed to describe many distinct races of men, and their various localities.

In one of these books* I found the southernmost extreme of South America coloured black, to indicate that its inhabitants were black, and the text stated that they resembled the aborigines of Van Diemen Land.

This mistake, so inexcusable, considering how often the natives of those countries had been seen and described, induced me to inquire into the grounds on which such divisions of the human race were founded; and, from that time, accumulating evidence has strengthened my conviction that such theories were fallacies, and that all varieties of man are plainly traceable to three, if not to one,—and this independently of other than human testimony.

In the city of Lima, in Peru, there were more than twenty-three distinct varieties of the human race, which were well known, and distinctly named.† But all these had arisen from the intermarriages of three,—namely, the Spaniard, the aboriginal Peruvian, and the Negro of Africa. Among their descendants, almost any colour of skin, or description of hair, or form of feature, might be found; excepting the light hair and eye of Northern Europe (introduced more recently).

This proves that variety is produced by breed, irrespective of climate; without, however, contradicting a gradual effect of climate and local circumstances in altering or modifying.

All colours and varieties of hair result from intermixture of races. In those which approach nearest to the pure Negro with a woolly head, we find frizzled hair, not quite like his, though growing by piles or tufts. In a less dark race, such as the Polynesian Malays, or New Zealanders, the hair grows by two or three in a pore, as well as singly. Crisp, frizzled, or curly hair, is seen; besides a straight, dark, and coarse kind. Only the lighter varieties of man have fine, flowing, or richly curled hair of light colours, like which nothing is seen among uncivilized tribes (excepting Albinos).

Teeth, also, vary from those of a vegetable and meat eating civilized being, to the worn-down, horse-like teeth of savages,

* Dictionnaire Classique.

† By Humboldt, Ulloa, Stevenson, and other reliable authorities.

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who use them on bones, and other hard substances, from early youth,—thus destroying the sharp edges.

In parts of India, one may likewise see numerous varieties in a single locality,—in the Mauritius also, and at a few other places,—but there the history is not so modern. Nowhere, indeed, is there a greater, a more distinctly classified and accurately traceable collection of varieties than in the capital of Peru.

In Australia and in Polynesia there are two marked differences,—the Papuan Negro (not so jet black as the African), with woolly hair, and the brown, red, or olive varieties.

It is remarkable that in Van Diemen Land, in 46° south latitude, where the climate is boisterous, chilly, and wet, during many months of the year, and never very hot, the aboriginal native was nearly black—a very dark Sambo (to use the West Indian term), but not a Negro.

The tropical islanders of the superior and lighter coloured races attain great stature in height and bulk, and are finely formed;* as at the Radack, Society, and Marquesas Islands. In Africa we see the genuine Negro, with his ebony skin, and woolly head: also the red, and the brown, and the olive or yellow man, in every variety. In Asia, the same (excepting the pure Negro), with a much larger proportion of the yellow brown varieties. In America there is so little outward difference of colour, from the arctic almost to the antarctic regions, through all the tropical latitudes, that one is quite confounded in any attempt to connect colour with climate. If there is a difference in American aboriginal colour, it is that the natives of equatorial districts are rather lighter coloured than the Esquimaux and Fuegians. There is absolutely no difference between an Esquimaux and a native of Tierra del Fuego, when dressed in European clothes.

The Araucanian resembles an Arab, a Malay, and a Maltese. The Patagonian is like what one reads of the Guanche, excepting horsemanship (no horses were in South America till the Spaniards' invasion). The North American reminds one of the Marquesas islander, the red Kaffir, the New Zealander, and the nomade Tartar. Peculiar habits, superstitious observances, and hereditary customs are traceable in all, so far as to induce one to exclaim,—"Surely, all these men had a common origin."

In Chiloe, called in Chile the Christian boundary ("El fin de la Cristiandad"), the aborigines have large boats (piraguas), exactly like the Maseulah boats of Madras. They make gatherings (mingas) for particular works affecting a whole tribe; they

* Like the Brahmin of Oude.

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use ovens heated with stones; they observe new moons; are superstitious about chief's heads; about destroying hair, lest a charm should be worked by it; and have many words like the Polynesian or Malay, if not some like Hebrew. They believe that their ancestors came by sea from the west.

As practical and very recent instances of variety, produced solely by breeding, it may be mentioned that in the Keeling Islands (Cocos), a remote spot in the Indian Ocean, near the equator, I found an Englishman (by name Ross) with a Malay wife. Their children were of a rich red copper colour, without any yellow tinge; a marked hue, which I have only seen equalled in New Zealand, among the grandchildren (by an English father) of a well-known chief, Te-Wero-wero (a model of classical form)—and by the children of an Englishman, whose wife was a half-caste. In these three instances, the colour was a bright red brown, bay rather than copper-coloured, without any olive or yellow hue, and very remarkable. Many of the so-called red Indians of North America are said to have been of this striking colour. Whether their ancestors may have been encountered by Madoc, or other white adventurers, can be only a subject of conjecture.

That colour may be rendered darker or lighter by exposure or seclusion, no one doubts. Instances are familiar everywhere. In connection with this, it may be remarked that when the Society Islanders were yet unchanged by intercourse with Europeans, some of their young people of the higher rank used to shut themselves up in the dark, and feed only on particular diet for certain periods, in order to become lighter-coloured or fair. It was also their custom to compress the heads of infants, so as to make them high and well shaped.

Although climate, habits, and food, cause a certain change, it is scarcely of a permanent kind in respect of colour, as is evident from the infant's skin, and the protected portions of men's bodies; but they do operate permanently on the form and size.

This may be seen in descendants of Portuguese, in India; Spaniards, in South America; and British, in various countries. They differ from their ancestors in form, but little in colour. Like the horse, the dog, and other animals, their size, strength, and figure, vary.

We see in North America, Australia, and New Zealand, a square-built, middle-sized man, with a family of lathy, tall descendants, whose voice, manner, disposition, and gait, differ from those of their European relatives:—while in other cases, those of emigration into colder regions, we find that exposure to cold, wet, and hardship has had a remarkable effect in checking growth, especially of the limbs.

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Much sitting in boats or canoes, much walking, or riding, affects the shape, even in one generation. Witness the Laplander, Esquimaux, Fuegian; the New Zealander, the Patagonian; also mountaineers, sailors, coachmen, jockeys, dragoons, and others, of peculiar habits.

I will now endeavour to point out those lines of communication across the oceans which seem to me, as a seaman and traveller, the most likely to have been followed by the earliest people, in their migrations.

Of overland routes, I need only observe that where land extends, animals and men may have migrated in any direction, however slowly and painfully. Neither is it necessary to notice the narrow seas, across which, at any time, passages may have been effected on rafts, or in canoes made of large trees hollowed out. That in the earlier ages trees were much more abundant near the waterside, in most countries, seems certain; not only from the present state of unfrequented regions, but from the remains of forests found under the soil where once they flourished. For instance, the Kauri gum (that very durable resin of the New Zealand pine) is found in the surface soil of hundreds of miles, where few such trees now stand. Likewise, in China, a similar gum is dug out of the earth, where no forest has stood for ages.

Great trees speedily fall before the advance of population; and difficult, in proportion, must it become to obtain them, for any maritime purpose, close to the ocean. Yet, even now, huge trunks are available, on some coasts, for canoes that might carry a hundred men each along the shore; and, if united two and two, with framework and huts above, like the double canoe of the Polynesian, would be fit to carry that number across a wide space of ocean.

How easy, comparatively speaking, may it have been in those early ages,—when animal and vegetable food abounded, when pyramids were built for tombs, and the human race multiplied so fast that division and emigration were inevitable,—how easy then to fell, hollow out, and launch great trunks of trees, which, secured two or more together, and covered by suitable structures, might carry whole families, even tribes, to great distances. Neither refined art, nor iron tools, need have been used. With fire to hollow out and divide—sharp stones, shells, and bones, skins and grass, would have sufficed for so simple a work; and thus enabled even the least informed people to make seaworthy and burthensome vessels. Unlike some modern canoes, however (such as those of the Ladrone Islands), these primitive vessels would have been incapable of

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contending against adverse winds; they could have sailed only before the wind, or nearly so; and would therefore have been at the disposal of almost every breeze, when once on the open sea. Hence, if an unexpected change occurred, or a storm arose, where the voyage might terminate must have been altogether uncertain; and we can now only conjecture by duly considering the prevailing winds of those places, their exceptional storms or changes, and the set of currents.

Of currents, whether tidal streams, or permanent rivers in the sea,—like the Gulf Stream, the Lagulhas current, that of the Galapagos, of Japan, or others—the earliest sea wanderers or adventurers could have known nothing, and were therefore certain to have been carried astray by their powerful influence. These great streams extend over hundreds of miles, and run continually, all the year round, with a rate varying from two to six miles an hour. Such unforeseen and insidious interferences as these must have caused the misdirection of many early voyagers, if not their total destruction. In modern times, within the last three centuries, such vessels (Polynesian double canoes) have been met at sea, in the Pacific, many hundred miles from any land; totally ignorant of their position, and having already had recourse to cannibalism. They had started under what seemed to them favourable auspices, steered by the stars and trade wind, intending to visit a neighbouring island; were surprised by a storm, and obliged to run before it they knew not where. And this must have happened to thousands, in the course of time, in many parts of the world.*

In referring particularly to rafts and double canoes, the readiest kind of burthen-carrying vessels, it is not intended to exclude the possibility of far better means having been used even anterior to the last three thousand years of our history. The object in view is simply to show what mode of transport by sea was available at the earliest times.

Intercourse between Asia, and America, and Australia, with their adjacent islands, could never have been very difficult, by crossing the narrow waters that separate them;—but the wide oceans also may have been traversed.

A vessel blown out to sea from western Africa, or the Canary Islands, must have been driven by the perennial trade wind towards Brazil. And it is remarkable that the Patagonians—a tall race, resembling the Guanches—always sought to bury their dead on hills to the eastward, whence, they said, their forefathers came.

People from Africa, perhaps Egypt, may have been obliged

* Burney's South Sea, etc.

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to run westward, before storms first, and then before constant winds, and may have reached Central America; where pyramids and other antiquities attest a relation to early Asiatic families.

One can hardly suppose that before the compass was known a Columbus steered intentionally across either great ocean; although we have the tradition of Madoc's setting forth, in search of strange lands, some centuries before the compass was known in Europe.

We are accustomed to attribute the discovery of magnetism, and invention of the mariner's compass, to China; but it is stated on good authority that such a guide was used in traversing the steppes of Central Asia, between north and south, at least as early as recorded in China.*

In the Pacific, islands are numerous. Trade winds from the eastward prevail in the tropical latitudes, excepting over a central or intermediate space; where westerly winds blow (sometimes hurricanes) during two or three months of the year. Between the tropics, the current sets toward the west, generally.

Beyond the trades, westerly winds are found during the greater part of the year, with corresponding currents.

Hence, vessels out of sight of land, without a compass, or means of telling their position, must have been driven westward, or eastward,—or alternately; thus spreading population over numerous islands not previously visited.

When Roggewein touched at Easter Island (1722) he found fire-worshippers, and images called Dago. At Cook's later visit (1778), the huge idols remained, but another tribe had exterminated their fire-worshipping votaries.

The aboriginal natives of western Patagonia, quite different in habits from those of the eastern side of South America, trace their descent from western nations across the ocean. They bury their dead in canoes, near the sea, that they may go to the spirits of their ancestors. Between New Zealand and Chiloe, westerly winds prevail. Small vessels have crossed that part of the ocean in five weeks.

In the North Pacific, junks, the clumsiest of ships, have been known to cross from near Japan to California, in little more than a month. More than one has been wrecked on the Sandwich Islands, or has reached *South* America.†

Between South Africa and Australia, though the distance seem great on a *Mercator's chart*, it is soon traversed by the aid of almost constant westerly winds.

If a canoe or clumsily built vessel left south-eastern Africa to visit Madagascar, and were caught by the Lagulhas current,

---

* Russian, and German.

† Rankin.

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it might take her so far southward that a westerly gale would catch and drive her before it; when nothing could be done by such a vessel but run before the wind till arriving (if not disabled sooner) in Australia. And it is remarkable that the natives of western Australia are exactly like some of the darker tribes (not the Kafirs) of southern Africa. Judging only by appearance, one can hardly doubt their identity.

Instances in number may be found, in narratives of voyages, where very small vessels, boats, or even canoes, have made long passages across open oceans, or have passed months in ignorance of their geographical position, enduring dreadful privations.

In the event of a float, whether raft, canoe, or rudely constructed vessel, being carried out of sight of land by current, or storm, or both, and into a steady trade or lasting westerly wind, it would be impossible to struggle long against its force: the only alternative must be running before it, with the hope, however forlorn, of falling in with some unknown land.

When we reflect on the tedious coasting voyages of former historical times, and think of the quantities of food said to have been provided for those prolonged undertakings, may we not infer that the earliest explorers would take as much provisions with them as their vessels would carry? and, therefore, that if driven out to sea, they must generally have been capable of holding out to a great length of time, without having recourse to that horrible step which we have heard of even in modern times. Yet many instances to the contrary must have occurred, and when once the natural antipathy to cannibalism was overcome, recurrence to similar food would have been less revolting on other occasions—whence the atrocities of Polynesian islanders, and some other tribes, may have originated.

Having thus endeavoured to show how varieties of the human race may have been caused, and how early migrations may have occurred, allow me to draw attention further to the facts— that all American tribes have cognate languages; that they are allied to those of Asia and Africa: and that the various tribes invariably point to other and distant countries for their origin. Hebrew and Malay words are found in Southern America; the African "cluck," and the Indian duplication of words (such as, mari-mari, colo-colo, etc.) are there, with the Buddhist "Lom-m-ma," or "Lam-m-ma," the Deity in the sky; and "the great black man," or evil spirit, always wandering up and down to do harm to man (like Satan, in Job).

Unwritten languages change so much, in course of time, that only some very marked and common words seem to remain

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almost unaltered; and even these it is extremely difficult to trace by writing, the ear only can distinguish accurately. Scarcely two persons write down native words, by sound, in the same letters, even if they are mutually countrymen.

For instance, Cook wrote Otaheite, but residents there write Tahiti, or O-Tahiti; his Fegee is now written Fi-ji, etc.

Excepting nasal or guttural sounds, and clucks, the musical, easy pronunciation of Indian, African, and American languages is strongly contrasted with that of the languages of Europe and much of Asia.

In eastern Asia the yellower varieties of men have a peculiar monosyllabic language. In Europe the prevailing speech is full of consonants (consonantal); and that of other parts of the world, India, Africa, Australasia, and America, abounds in vowels (vowelline).

By following or tracing back probable migrations, affiliating languages, and deriving outward differences of form and colour from breed, modified by climate and habits,—we have been led to the conclusion that the human race had its beginning in Asia, towards the central regions; the temperate, not the highest nor the hottest, of that continent; and that only three varieties existed at a very early age,—the white, the mixed, and the black.

Nearly to this conclusion, it may be observed, really learned men have arrived from other sources of information; among whom (certainly not the least reliable) are Faber and Rawlinson.

And this conclusion is in exact accordance with the historical account in the Bible; where (it is exceedingly remarkable) the names of Ham and his descendants describe their colour. Ham, meaning "heat, brown, or scorched"; Cush, his son, "black"; Phut and Lubim, "darkness." Japheth implies "handsome"; and Shem "chosen, placed, renowned."*

Having thus reached back, as it were, to a very early age, by more than one process of independent tracing, and found ourselves in exact accordance with the Bible;—are we not bound to accept the full statement of that Scripture which has thus been submitted to a "crucial experiment"?

In the Bible we find that Ham and his descendants were cursed. "Cursed be Canaan, a servant of servants shall he be unto his brethren." (Gen. ix, 25.) Can this be read without thinking that Cush was a negro, and that from the mixture of his descendants with those of Shem and Japheth sprang the hosts of mulatto, red or copper, olive, or dark-coloured races

* Cruden.

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that peopled all countries except Europe? It is obvious, likewise, that, while coloured tribes were spreading over Africa, southern Asia, and America, white families, the descendants of Shem and Japheth, peopled Asia Minor, the Caucasian territories, great part of northern Asia, and the whole of Europe.

But now we approach the great mystery. Human eyes cannot penetrate further than to this point—the three varieties. The Bible states that these three were derived from one father, Noah; but does not inform us whether they were the sons of one mother. There is nothing contradictory in the supposition that Ham's mother was a descendant of Cain; that "Canaan" was derived from Cain; and that the mark set on Cain and his descendants was negro blackness. Children of white and black parents are not always mulatto; sometimes one colour predominates, or does so in the next generation. The name "Ham" does not imply so deep a black as the word "Cush."

And now, in conclusion, allow me to remark that, however difficult it may be to trace the thread of inspired truth through the encumbrances of human additions and defective translations, that thread is the only clue towards the miraculous commencement of man's existence on this earth.

That such a beginning should have been infantile, or the state of an uninformed savage, common sense at once denies as absurdly inconsistent.

No theory, no creation of man's intellect, has been found less difficult to comprehend, less a subject of marvel, than the statement transmitted to us in the Bible.

II.—*The Assyrian Origin of the Izedis or Yezidis—the so-called "Devil Worshippers"*. By W. FRANCIS AINSWORTH, F.S.A., F.R.G.S., etc.

NEXT to the splendid discoveries effected in recent times by the disentombment of the monuments of Assyria and Chaldæa, the curiosity and interest of ethnologists might be reasonably supposed to be concerned in the probable existence, in the present day, of descendants of some branches of the Assyrians or Chaldæans of old in the same neighbourhoods.

Such descent is more than probable among some of the permanent dwellers in the country, whether Izedis, Chaldæan Christians, Sabæans, or others. And among the former there exists not only a remarkable likeness in form, feature, and the manner of wearing the hair, to the monumental Assyrians,

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but some of the most characteristic practices of the Assyrians are still found to be in vogue amongst them.

These remarkable people are widely diffused throughout Assyria, Mesopotamia, North Syria, Kurdistan, Asia Minor, and Armenia. One of their chief strongholds is the Sinjar mountains, in central Mesopotamia, and several tribes have lately taken refuge from Muhammedan persecution in Georgia; but the residence of their spiritual and temporal head is in the neighbourhood of Nineveh. Their chief place of worship and of pilgrimage—the holy sanctuary to which their eyes turn from all parts of the East; as also their chief place of burial—are in the same neighbourhood. The tribe of Nineveh is regarded as the most noble, and the head of the nation is still looked upon as at once Khalif, Amir, and Sheikh—spiritual and temporal head of the race.

The attention of Europeans was first called in modern times to the existence of this remarkable people by Father Maurizio Garzoni, whose tract respecting them was printed at Berlin in 1807, with the Abbate Sestini's *Viaggi e Opuscoli*, and translated into French by the celebrated De Sacy, who added it as an appendix to M. Rousseau's *Description du Pachalik de Bagdad*, published at Paris in 1809. Copious extracts from M. Rousseau's work, and the appendix concerning the Izedis, were also given in Mr. Buckingham's *Travels in Mesopotamia*.

Mr. Rich, formerly British Resident at Baghdad, obtained some further information regarding this singular people during his residence at Nineveh in 1820-21, and the results are published in his *Narrative of a Residence in Koordistan*, etc., vol. ii, p. 68 *et seq.*

The same people attracted the attention of the celebrated traveller Niebuhr; and some notices of their practices, derived from that and other sources, are carefully digested in Mr. Baillie Fraser's little book, *Mesopotamia and Assyria*, ed. of 1842, p. 330 *et seq.*

The writer of the present paper was the first traveller who visited the celebrated sanctuary of the Izedis at Sheikh Adi; this was in 1840, but Mr. Frederick Forbes had previously explored their retreats and fastnesses in the Sinjar, which he has described in the ninth volume of the *Journal* of the Royal Geographical Society. Dr. Grant, of the American Missions, was at or about the same time collecting such observations as have been since consigned in his work on *The Nestorians, or the Lost Tribes.*

The largest amount of information regarding these people has, however, been decidedly since obtained by Mr. Layard, who, having befriended them and protected them through the

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ambassador at Constantinople, has received marked attentions at their hands; he was admitted to the mysterious rites of the festival of Sheikh Adi, was allowed to see their sacred emblem the Melek Taus or king cock, and obtained from their spiritual head, Sheikh Nasr, a variety of interesting and valuable information.

The chief and central place of sojourn of the Izedis is the region which corresponds to what was once Assyria Proper, at the foot of the mountains and in the plains around Nineveh. Their principal strongholds are in this region, where are also the residences of their spiritual and political head at Baadli or Baadri; their chief sanctuary, Sheikh Adi or Hadi; and their chief burial place, Bazan.

Their most populous settlements in this region are the villages of Baazani, Baasheikha, and Baadri or Sheikh Khan, whence the whole tribe is in the same region sometimes designated as the Sheikhkanli, as well as the Dassini or Dawassini, that being the name of the district as a Christian episcopacy.

The Izedis are, indeed, generally known amongst themselves by the name of the district in which they respectively dwell. In the Sinjar, they are divided into ten distinct tribes,—the Heska, Mendka, Hubaba, Merkhan, Bukra, Beit Khaled, Amera, Al Dakhi, Semoki, and Kerani; and their chief places of residence are Semil Bukra, Mirkhan, Osafa, Dinah, Amrah, As-smukiya, Al Kiraniya, Kulkah, and Sinjar itself.

Tribes of Izedis are also met with in the north of Syria, in northern Kurdistan, in Buhtan, and Missuri. Their villages are found in the districts of Julamerik, Amadiya, Jezira ibn Omar, Zakhu, Mardin, and Dyarbekir. They occur, indeed, here and there throughout northern Kurdistan, northern Mesopotamia, and Syria, as also in Armenia and Asia Minor.

A large tribe immigrated within recent times to Georgia and Russian Armenia, to avoid the persecutions of the Muhammedans. According to Baron Haxthausen (*Trans-Caucasia*, p. 257), the Izedis in the Russian territory are divided into two tribes, under hereditary chiefs; one called itself Hassenzi, and its chief Tamar Agha. The Izedis are, however, all parcelled out into four great divisions, for the purpose of annual visitations by the Kawals; those of the Sinjar, those of Khurzen or Dyarbekir, those of north Syria, and those of northern Armenia.

The Muhammedans, in their dealings with men of other creeds, make a distinction between such as are believers in the sacred books, and such as have no recognized inspired works. To the first category belong Christians of all denominations, as

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receiving the two testaments; and the Jews, as followers of the old. With Christians and Jews, therefore, they may treat, make peace, and live; but with such as are included in the second class the good Mussulman can have no intercourse. No treaty nor oath, where they are concerned, is binding. They have the choice between conversion and the sword, and it is unlawful even to take tribute from them. The Izedis not being looked upon as "Masters of a Book," have hence been exposed for centuries to the persecution of the Muhammedans. The harems of the south of Turkey have been recruited from them. Yearly expeditions have been made by the governors of provinces into their districts; and, whilst the men and women were slaughtered without mercy, the children of both sexes were carried off, and exposed for sale in the principal towns. These annual hunts were one of the sources of revenue of Badir Khan Bey; and it was the custom of the Pashas of Baghdad and Mosul to let loose the Bashi Bazuks upon the ill-fated Izedis, as an easy method of satisfying their demands for arrears of pay. This system was still practised to a certain extent to within a very short time ago, and gave rise to atrocities scarcely equalled in the better known African slave trade.

It was not unnatural that the Izedis, on their side, should revenge themselves, whenever an opportunity might offer, upon their oppressors. They formed themselves into bands, and were long the terror of the country. No Mussulman that fell into their hands was spared. Caravans were plundered, and travellers murdered without mercy. Christians, however, were not molested; for the Izedis looked upon them as fellow sufferers for religion's sake.

The last independent chief of the Izedis was Ali Bey, the father of Hussain Bey. He was beloved by his tribe, and sufficiently brave and skilful in war to defend them for many years against the attacks of the Kurds and Mussulmans of the plain. The powerful Bey of Rawandiz, who had united most of the Kurdish tribes of the surrounding mountains under his banner, and had defied for many years the Turks and the Persians, resolved, however, to crush the hateful sect of the Izedis. Ali Bey's forces were greatly inferior in numbers to those of his persecutor. He was defeated, and fell into the hands of the Rawandiz chief, who put him to death. The inhabitants of Sheikh Khan fled to Mosul. It was in spring; the river had overflowed its banks, and the bridge of boats had been removed. A few succeeded in crossing the stream; but a vast crowd of men, women, and children were left upon the opposite side, and congregated on the great mound of Kou-

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yunjik. The Bey of Rawandiz followed them. An indiscriminate slaughter ensued; and the people of Mosul beheld, from their terraces, the murder of these unfortunate fugitives, who cried to them in vain for help, for both Christians and Mussulmans are said to have rejoiced in the extermination of an odious and infidel sect, and no arm was lifted in their defence. Hussain Bey, having been carried by his mother to the mountains, escaped the general slaughter. He was carefully brought up by the Izedis, and from his infancy has been regarded as their chief.

The inhabitants of the Sinjar were soon afterwards subdued by Muhammed Rashid Pasha, and a second time by Hafiz Pasha. On both occasions there was a massacre, and the population was reduced by three-fourths. The Izedis took refuge in caves, where they were either suffocated by fires lighted at the mouth, or destroyed by discharges of cannon.

Since the establishment of a British vice-consulate at Mosul, several opportunities have presented themselves to Mr. Rassam of protecting these poor people. When Kiritli Oglu, Muhammed Pasha, was in power, the Izedis were among the objects of his cupidity and tyranny. He seized by treachery, as he supposed, their head or high priest; but Sheikh Nasr had time to escape the plot against him, and to substitute in his place the second in authority, who was carried a prisoner to the town. Such is the attachment shown by the Izedis to their chief, that the deceit was not revealed, and the substitute bore with resignation the tortures and imprisonment inflicted upon him. Mr. Rassam having been applied to, obtained his release by advancing a considerable sum of money, which the inhabitants of the district of Sheikh Khan undertook to repay, in course of time, out of the produce of their fields. They punctually fulfilled the engagement thus entered into, and have ever since looked to the British consul as their protector.

The villages of the Izedis are generally distinguished by their tombs, which are built in the form of a fluted cone or pyramid, standing upon a quadrangular basis, which rises in distinct steps or terraces. This form has been said to have been adopted to propitiate the Evil Spirit, and the obelisk, as elsewhere, to represent a flame of fire; but the basis appears to be a relic of the well known Assyrian and Chaldæan architecture,—the counterpart, on a small scale, of the temples, remains of which are still scattered over the country, and which at the Birs-i-Nimrud consisted of seven stages, devoted to the seven planets. These sepulchral monuments are generally neatly whitewashed, and, being placed on an eminence or in the centre of dark olive groves, they present a very picturesque appearance.

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The mausoleum of Sheikh Rumi in Sinjar, a place of pilgrimage like Sheikh Adi, is said by Forbes to be prettily situated in a grove of bay trees. Another, on the crest of the hill going from Mirkhan to the Shomal, is also described as being in a grove of trees. The walls were also hung with the horns of sheep, slain in sacrifice by occasional pilgrims. A similar practice was observed by Layard at the tomb of the Kawal Hussain, also in Sinjar.

Certain springs are also objects of veneration and the scene of sacrifices among the Izedis. Such are the springs of Baasheikha, at the foot of the line of hills which front the Jebel Maklub, and Ain u Safra, or "the yellow spring," at the foot of the latter range. The Izedis make pilgrimages to these springs at certain times, several thousands together, including men, women, and children, upon which occasions they offer sacrifices and play at martial games.

At Sheikh Adi there is a spring of water which falls into a basin, and which is used as their chief baptismal font. Niebuhr relates that they were in the habit of throwing into it gold and silver in honour of the Sheikh; but this practice being discovered by a Nestorian in the neighbourhood, he contrived one night to enter the enclosure in pursuit of these treasures. The daughter of the keeper, having accidentally gone thither to draw water, while the thief was searching in the reservoir, conceived it could be no other than Sheikh Adi himself come to inspect the offerings, and hastened away to tell the extraordinary news. The guardians of the sanctuary were enchanted with the honour done them by their saint, while the Nestorian took care to keep his secret and the money.

There is said to be a similar basin in Sinjar, probably the same as that described by Forbes as situated at the foot of the precipice which is surmounted by the village of Kolgha, and which was applied to the same uses. This is said to have come to the ears of the celebrated Sulaiman, Pasha of Baghdad, who, thinking he could turn the Sheikh's treasure to account, visited the place with a powerful force. But though he succeeded in dispersing the Sinjarlis, and put many to the torture of the bastinado, he failed in discovering the treasure.

This holy character with which certain springs are invested appears to be of Assyrian origin. The whole of the ravine of Bavian, near Sheikh Adi, is supposed by Layard (*Discoveries*, p. 215) to have been a sacred spot, devoted by the Assyrians of old to religious ceremonies and to national sacrifices. Here, among other monuments of bygone times, there exist a series of basins cut in the rock, and descending in steps to the river Gomel. The water had been originally led from one to the

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other through small conduits, the lowest of which was ornamented at its mouth with two rampant lions in relief. A drawing of this holy well of the Assyrians accompanies Mr. Layard's descriptions. The outlets were choked up, but they were cleared, and, by pouring water into the upper basin, the fountain was restored as it had been in the time of the Assyrians.

At the entrance of one of the deep ravines which runs into the Jebel Maklub, a clear spring gushes from a grotto in the hill side. Tradition assigns to this grotto, with those at Ephesus and Tarsus, as well as elsewhere, the privilege of being the cave of the Seven Sleepers, and the Izedis have also made the spot a place of pilgrimage.

Mr. Rich says, "From what I have seen and heard of the Yezids, they seem lively, brave, hospitable, and good-humoured. Under the British government much might be made of them." Mr. Fraser adds that they are well made and comely. Kinneir also describes them as possessed of noble and generous principles. Dr. Grant speaks of them as "friendly towards the professors of Christianity."

The writer's impressions were of the same favourable description. (*Travels and Researches*, vol. ii, p. 189.) As a race of men, they are tall, slim, and well made; their bones large, and features spare, but marked with much earnestness and decision. The brows advance over the eye, the forehead is high but retreating, the nose prominent, the lips moderate.

Forbes speaks of the Izedis as being in their domestic manners and their customs very simple. Both men and women, he says, are of middle size, and have a clear complexion, with regular features, and black eyes and hair; their limbs being spare, muscular, and well proportioned.

The same traveller also remarks of them that their character is rather superior to that of their neighbours of Mesopotamia. They are brave, hospitable, and sober, faithful to their promises, and much attached to their native soil: but, he adds, they are at the same time cruel and vindictive, considering their proper means of support to be robbery and theft; and they treat with great ferocity any unfortunate Muhammedans who fall into their power, especially Persians. That, however, we have before observed, was a mere matter of reprisals, the natural result of years of oppression and persecution.

The Izedis are, by one of their religious laws, forbidden to wear the common Eastern shirt open in front, and this article of apparel is always closed up to the neck. This is a distinctive mark of the sect, by which its members may be recognized at a glance.

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Layard describes the Izedis of Sinjar as having a dark complexion, black and piercing eyes, and frequently a fierce and forbidding countenance. The men being of small stature, but well proportioned limbs, strongly knit together, and muscular, active, and capable of bearing great fatigue.

Their dress consists of a shirt, loose trousers, and cloak, all white, and a black turban, from beneath which their hair falls in ringlets. Their long rifles are rarely out of their hands, and they carry pistols in their girdles, a sword at their sides, and a row of cartouche cases, generally made of cut reeds, in their breasts. These additions to their costume, and their swarthy features, give them a peculiar warlike appearance.

Haxthausen describes the Russian Izedis as well formed, large, and muscular, with finely-arched eyebrows, black eyes, aquiline noses, and a rather broad countenance.

Nothing can be more Assyrian than the above descriptions. The manly forms, aquiline noses, arched eyebrows, and ringleted hair are to be seen on most of the Assyrian monuments.

The language in use amongst the Izedis is a Kurdish dialect, and very few, except the Sheikhs and Kawals, are acquainted with Arabic. The chants and hymns, the only form of prayer which it appears they possess, are, however, in Arabic. They have, it is said, notwithstanding the assertions of the Muhammedans to the contrary, a sacred volume, which contains their traditions, their hymns, directions for the performance of their rites, and other matters connected with their religion. It is said to be preserved either at Baazani or Baasheikha, but is regarded with so much superstitious reverence that Mr. Layard, who enjoyed the friendship and esteem of the Izedis in so great a degree, failed to obtain a perusal or even a sight of it. Dr. Forbes previously noticed the existence of this sacred book, which, he says, is called "Aswad," or "the Black;" but, he adds, as the book has never been seen by any one, it is probable that they have invented the statement for the honour of their religion, since one cause of the great contempt in which they are held by the Muhammedans is their want of any written law.

The year after Mr. Layard's first visit to Sheikh Adi, a poem of the Izedis was shown through Mr. Christian Rassam to the Rev. Mr. Badger; and the same MS. was also shewn to Mr. Layard on the occasion of that gentleman's second visit to Sheikh Adi. This poem is a metrical rhapsody on the merits and attributes of Sheikh Adi, who is at one time identified with the Deity himself, at another as his prophet or vicegerent. We have now two versions of this poem, one by the Rev. Mr. Badger, in his work on *The Nestorians and*

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their Rituals; the other by Mr. Hormuzd Rassam, in Layard's *Discoveries in the Ruins of Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 89. It is called the recitation or poem of Sheikh Adi.

Kawal Yusuf informed Mr. Layard that before the great massacre of the sect by the Bey of Rawandiz, they possessed many books, which were either lost during the general panic, or destroyed by the Kurds. He admitted that the "Poem" was only a fragmentary composition, and by no means the "Book" which contained the theology and religious laws of the people. He even hinted that the great work did still exist, and Mr. Layard says, "I am by no means certain that there is not a copy at Baashaikhah or Baazani." The account given by the Kawal seems to be confirmed by the allusion made in the poem to the "Book of Glad Tidings," and the "Book that comforteth the oppressed," which could scarcely have been inserted for any particular purpose, such as to deceive their Muhammedan neighbours.

The actual religious as well as the political head of the Izedis, wherever they may reside, is Hussain Bey, who is called the Khalifa, and he holds this position by inheritance. On his first visit to Sheikh Adi, Mr. Layard described Hussain Bey as the political chief, and Sheikh Nasr as the religious head; but he subsequently found that the religious duties were deputed to the Sheikh only on account of the youth of Hussain Bey. Another Sheikh, called Jindi, also officiated for the Bey at Sheikh Adi. Rich had before stated that the Khan of Sheikh Khan or Baadli was the Pope of the Yezids. He said he was descended from the family of the Ummiyad Khalifs, and was esteemed the Amir Hadji of the Yezids. Did the Izedis give a prince to the Khalifat, or are we to believe that this Izedi prince is really a descendant of the Ummiyads? The latter is very unlikely, as their Muhammedanism would be then a matter of the deepest pride, instead of being altogether a matter of doubt, if not an assumed thing.

The Izedis have four orders of priesthood,—the Pirs, the Sheikhs, the Kawals or Cawals, and the Fakirs: and, what is very remarkable, these offices are hereditary and descend to females, who, whilst enjoying them, are treated with the same respect and consideration as the men.

The Pirs, or Saints, are most reverenced, after the great Sheikh or religious head of the sect. They do not appear so much to be an order of priesthood as to be Sheikhs who, in their superior sanctity, have been honoured with a kind of living canonization. They are believed to have the power of curing diseases, and performing other miracles.

The Sheikhs are the only literate men among the Izedis,

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being expected to know something of Arabic, the language in which, as before observed, the hymns are written. Their dress should be entirely white, except the skull cap beneath their turbans, which is black. They also wear a band of red and yellow or red and orange plaid round their bodies, as the insignia of their office.

The Kawals, or Preachers, go from village to village as teachers of the doctrines of the sect. They perform on the flute and tambourine, both instruments being looked upon, to a certain extent, as sacred; they also dance at festivals. They usually know a little Arabic, but barely more than is necessary to get through their chants and hymns. Their robes are generally white, although coloured stuffs are not forbidden. Their turbans, unlike those of the Sheikhs, are black, as are also their skull caps.

The Fakirs wear coarse dresses of black or dark brown cloth or canvas, descending to the knee, and fitting tightly to the person; and a black turban, across or over which is tied a red handkerchief. They perform all menial offices connected with the mausoleum of Sheikh Adi, trim and light the votive lamps, and keep the sacred buildings clean.

Forbes says the chief Sheikh has an assessor or adviser, called Sheik Kutchuk, or lesser Sheik, who is supposed to receive the direct revelations of the devil, and, on payment of a sum of money, delivers his oracular counsel to those who consult him, after a pretended sleep, with sometimes a delay of two or three nights.

Layard could not ascertain any particulars regarding the great saint of the Izedis, Sheikh Adi or Hadi; even the epoch of his existence is doubtful. Sheikh Nasr merely asserted on one occasion that he lived before Muhammed.

The Izedis have some foolish traditions connected with him, chiefly relating to his interviews with celestial personages, and to a feat he performed in bringing the springs, now rising in the valley in which his tomb stands, from the well of Zemzem, at Mecca.

The tomb of this saint, so much venerated by the Izedis, stands in a courtyard, and is surrounded by a few buildings, inhabited by the guardians and servants of the sanctuary. The interior is divided into three principal compartments;—a large hall, partitioned in the centre by a row of columns and arches, and having at the upper end a reservoir filled by an abundant spring issuing from the well; and two smaller apartments, in which are the tombs of the saint and of some inferior personage.

The coffin of Sheikh Adi is covered, as has been observed in

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the Chaldæan sanctuaries, by a large square case, made of clay and plastered, an embroidered green cloth being thrown over it.

The outer court is enclosed by low buildings with recesses, similar to those in an Eastern bazaar; they are intended for the accommodation of pilgrims, and for the stalls of pedlars, during the celebration of the festival.

Around the mausoleum, and beneath the trees which grow on the sides of the mountain, are numerous rudely constructed edifices, each belonging to an Izedi district or tribe. The pilgrims, according to the place from which they come, reside in them during the time of the feast, so that each portion of the valley is known by the name of the country or tribe of those who resort there.*

With regard to the religious belief and practices of the Izedis, Layard tells us that they recognize one Supreme Being; but he adds, "as far as I could learn, they do not offer up any direct prayer or sacrifice to Him. Sheikh Nasr endeavoured to evade my questions on this subject, and appeared to shun with superstitious awe every topic connected with the existence and attributes of the Deity."

They are said to hold the Old Testament in great reverence, and to believe in the cosmogony of Genesis, the Deluge, and other events recorded in the Bible. They are also said not to reject the New Testament nor the Kuran, but to consider them less entitled to their veneration.

In their religious services, they chaunt hymns in praise of the Deity, succeeded by others in honour of Malek Isa and Sheikh Adi.

The most remarkable fact in the religious creed and practices of the Izedis, that they worship Satan, or, at all events, reverence the Evil Spirit to a degree amounting to worship,

* Mr. Layard gives a highly animated and picturesque description of the arrival of the tribes. "Long lines of pilgrims", he says, "toiled up the avenue. There was the swarthy inhabitant of the Sinjar, with his long black locks, his piercing eye and regular features,—his white robes floating in the wind, and his unwieldy matchlock thrown over his shoulders. Then followed the more wealthy families of the Kochers—the wandering tribes who live in tents in the plains, and among the tribes of ancient Adiabene; the men in gay jackets and variegated turbans, with fantastic arms in their girdles; the women richly clad in silk antans; their hair, braided up in many tresses, falling down their backs, and adorned with wild flowers; their foreheads almost concealed by gold and silver coins; and huge strings of glass beads, coins, and *engraved stones*, hanging round their necks. Next would appear a poverty-stricken family from a village of the Musul district; the women clad in white, pale and careworn; bending under the weight of their children; the men urging on the heavily-laden donkey. Similar groups descended from the hills. Repeated discharges of fire-arms, and a well-known signal, announced to those below the arrival of every new party."

This regard paid to the engraved stones and cylinders of the Assyrians, and which is peculiar to the Izedis, might alone be adduced as a remarkable proof of their Assyrian origin.

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is generally admitted by all those who dwell in the same countries with them, of all sects and persuasions, be they Jews, Christians, or Muhammedans. They are expressly designated by the latter as *Shaitan purust*, worshippers of the devil, and they are said to invoke Satan by the name of Chelib or Lord. (Fraser, *Mesopotamia and Assyria*, p. 327.)

Layard corroborates what has been so frequently alluded to by others, that the name of the Evil Spirit is never mentioned by the Izedis; and he adds that any allusion to it by others so vexes and irritates them, that it is said they have put to death persons who have wantonly outraged their feelings by its use. So far is their dread of offending the evil principle carried, that they carefully avoid every expression which may resemble in sound the name of Satan, or the Arabic word for "accursed." Thus, in speaking of a river, they will not say *Shat*, because it is too nearly connected with the first syllable in *Shaitan*, the Devil, but they substitute *Nahr*. Nor, for the same reason, will they utter the word *Kaitan*, thread or fringe. *Naal*, a horse shoe, and *Naal-band*, a farrier, are also forbidden words, because they approach to *Laan*, a curse, and *Maalun*, accursed.

The same writer tells us that they believe Satan to be the chief of the angelic host, now suffering punishment for his rebellion against the Divine will; but still all-powerful, and to be restored hereafter to his high estate in the celestial hierarchy. He must be conciliated and reverenced, they say; for, as he now has the means of doing evil to mankind, so will he hereafter have the power of rewarding them.

Forbes says, "The first and most important principles of the Izedis are to propitiate the devil and secure his favour, and to support and defend themselves by the sword. They consider the devil as the chief agent in executing the will of God, and reverence Moses, Christ, and Muhammed, as well as the saints and prophets held in veneration by Christians and Mussulmans, believing that all these were more or less perfect incarnations of Satan."

Haxthausen, speaking of the Russian Izedis, says that they believe that Satan (Shaitan) was the first-created, greatest, and most exalted of the archangels; that the world was made by him at God's command, and that to him was entrusted its government; but that, for esteeming himself equal with God, he was banished from the Divine presence. Nevertheless, he will be again received in favour, and his kingdom (this world) restored to him. They suffer no one to speak ill of Satan; if the Tatar Muhammedan curse, *Nalat Shaitanna*—accursed be Satan, be uttered in their presence, they are bound to slay either the speaker or themselves. On a certain day they offer

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to Satan thirty sheep. Christ, they say, is merciful, and his favour easily procured; but Satan is not so easily propitiated.

Haxthausen further relates that, questioning the Russian Izedis concerning this doctrine, he was asked by a white-bearded Izedi, "Dost thou believe that God is righteous and all-merciful?" "Yes," replied the Baron. "Was not Satan the best beloved of all the archangels?" resumed the questioner; "and will not God take pity on him who has been exiled so many thousand years, and restore to him the dominion over the world he created? Will not Satan then reward the poor Izedis, who alone have never spoken ill of him, and have suffered so much for him?" "Martyrdom," exclaims the German traveller, "for the rights of Satan!—strange confusion of ideas, with something, nevertheless, touching."*

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* Fraser relates a curious legend which exists in Seistan, among the inhabitants of which are not only many fire-worshippers, ghabirs or ghebres, but a considerable number of these Shaitan purust or devil-worshippers. The account is as follows:—

"In former times there existed, they say, a prophet named Hanlalah, whose life was prolonged to the measure of a thousand years. He was their ruler and benefactor; and as by his agency their flocks gave birth to young miraculously once a week, though ignorant of the use of money, they enjoyed all the comforts of life with much gratitude to him. At length, however, he died, and was succeeded by his son, whom Satan, presuming on his inexperience, tempted to sin, by entering into a large mulberry tree (a remarkably fine mulberry tree throws its shade in the present day over the court at Sheikh Adi), from whence he addressed the successor of Hanlalah, and called on him to worship the prince of darkness. Astonished, yet unshaken, the youth resisted the temptation. But the miracle proved too much for the constancy of his flock, who began to turn to the worship of the devil. The young prophet, enraged at this, seized an axe and a saw, and prepared to cut down the tree, when he was arrested by the appearance of a human form, who exclaimed, 'Rash boy, desist! turn to me, and let us wrestle for the victory. If you conquer, then fell the tree.'

"The prophet consented, and vanquished his opponent; who, however, bought his own safety and that of the tree by the promise of a large weekly treasure. After seven days, the holy victor again visited the tree, to claim the gold or fell it to the ground; but Satan persuaded him to hazard another struggle, on promise that if conquered again the amount should be doubled. The second rencounter proved fatal to the youth, who was put to death by his spiritual antagonist; and the result confirmed the tribes over whom he had ruled in the worship of the tree and its tutelary demon."

In this legend, Mr. Fraser remarks, the leading doctrine of all these Eastern religions—the constant contention between the powers of good and evil—is plainly shadowed forth, with the additional moral that, as long as he was actuated by a disinterested zeal for religion, the young prophet was victorious over the spirit of evil, but failed so soon as that zeal gave place to a sordid cupidity for earthly treasure.

The "tree", it is also to be observed, occupies a prominent place in all the religions of the East—Chinese, Hindu, Persian, or Arabian. It figures largely in the Babylonian and Assyrian sculptures. Needless to remark what an important place it also fills in the Jewish history of our first parents.

This legend becomes still more interesting when compared with the following passage, which is taken from Assemani (vol. iii, p. 493), in the part where he treats of the religions of Mesopotamia and Assyria:—"According to the natives of the country, the Yezidis were at one time Christians, who, however, in the

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Mr. Rich says of the Izedis, "The church, conventicle, or whatever it may be called, is said to resemble that at Jerusalem, every different tribe of Izedis having its own separate station

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course of ages, had forgotten even the fundamental principles of their faith. I am, nevertheless, not inclined to believe this their origin; for I am of opinion that the word Yezidi is derived from Yezid, which in the idiom of Persia signifies *God*. Yezidi, the plural of Yezid, indicates the observers of superstitious doctrines (as may be seen from Antonio Gyges, *Tesoro della lingua Arabica*). Yezid was, in fact, the name of the idol which Elias, bishop and missionary of Mogham, overthrew with three blows of an axe; and this fact sustains the opinion I have advanced. Monseignore Tommaso, bishop of Marquise, who lived in the commencement of the ninth century, relates that when this Elias, after having been chosen bishop of Mogham—a city on the frontiers of Persia, and near the Caspian sea—proceeded to enter on the duties of his diocese, he found it occupied by a barbarous people, immersed in superstition and idolatry.

"The bishop, however, commenced his instructions; and his flock confessed that they received them with pleasure, were convinced of their truth, and were inclined to return to the true God, but that they were terrified at the thought of abandoning Yezid, the object of religious veneration of their ancestors. This idol, they said, conscious of approaching rejection and contempt, would not fail to revenge itself by their total destruction. Elias desired to be led to this object of their adoration. They conducted him to the summit of a neighbouring hill, from whence a dark wood extended into the valley below. From the bosom of this rose a plane-tree of enormous height, majestic in the spread of its boughs and deep obscurity of its shade; but, transported with holy zeal, he demanded a hatchet, and rushing to the valley, sought the idol, whom he found lowering with a dark and menacing aspect. Nothing daunted, however, he raised the axe, smote down the image of the prince of darkness, and continued his work till not only was the mighty tree laid prostrate, but every one of the numerous younger shoots, termed by the barbarians the children of Yezid, were likewise demolished."

The similarity of these two legends, coming from such opposite quarters, is very remarkable, and can scarcely be quite accidental. It may be from some confusion of persons that the Izedis fast three days upon the winter festival of Khidr Iliyas or Elias (see Rich, p. 69). Such a confusion of names is not uncommon in the East. That excellent orientalist the Rev. Mr. Renouard, says, for example, in allusion to a tomb called Khidr Ilyas, or Khizr Iliyas, at Angora, that it is the name of a Turkish saint and hero, confounded by the Turks with St. George and the prophet Elias. (Journal, Royal Geo. Society, vol. ix, p. 273.)

We are aware, also, from D'Herbelot, as substantiated by Sir Henry Rawlinson (Journal of Royal Geo. Society, vol. ix, p. 36), that the tomb of Baba Yadgar, in the pass of Zardah, which is the chief sanctuary of the Ali Ilahis, a mountaineer sect whose faith bears evident marks of Judaism, singularly amalgamated with Sabæan, Christian, and Muhammedan legends, was regarded at the time of the Arab invasion of Persia as the abode of Elias. (See D'Herbelot, in the titles Holwan and Zerib Bar Elia.)

Mr. Rich, alluding to one of these Khidr Iliyases much venerated by the Kurds on the frontiers of Sulaimaniyah, that they are not so much tombs as resting places of the prophet Elias. The notion that Elijah never died, and that he is still on the earth, where he is to remain until the coming of Jesus Christ, is common to many Jews, Mohammedans, and other Eastern sects. The prophecy that Elijah should come "before the great and terrible day of the Lord", has probably given rise to the notion that he had not yet completed his part on earth. The wisest rabbis have taught that Elias sits under *the tree of life* in Paradise, and keeps account of the good works of the Jews, especially of their sabbath observances. Jesus Himself was taken for Elias, reappearing after nine centuries of concealment. (See Buxtorf's Synagoga Judaica, Basle, 1641, pp. 80, 255.)

It is on account of this everlasting life, supposed to be enjoyed by Elias, that

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in it. Their Pir, or Sheikh, reads prayers, every one at intervals crying out, Amen, and this is the whole of their worship. It is true that they pay adoration, or at least a sort of worship, to Malik Taus, the figure of a bird placed on a kind of candlestick. (This figure, he adds in a note, is that of a *cock*, and is produced but once a year for the purpose of worship.) They will not spit into the fire, or blow out a candle with their breaths. When the sun just appears above the horizon, they salute it with three prostrations. When they are taxed by the Christians and Turks with having no books, they say it is because God has so peculiarly enlightened their minds as to render books and a written law unnecessary."

Next to Satan, among the Izedis, but inferior to him in might and wisdom, are seven archangels, who exercise a great influence over the world; they are Gabrael, Michael, Raphael, Azrael, Dedrael, Azraphael, and Shemkeel. Upon this Layard remarks, "It will be remembered that in the Book of Tobit (ch. xii, v. 15) Raphael is made to say,—"I am Raphael, one of the seven holy angels, which present the prayers of the saints, and which go in and out before the glory of the Holy One." "The seven spirits before the throne of God" are mentioned in Revelations (ch. i, v. 4; ch. iv, v. 5.)

This number of seven, in the hierarchy of the celestial host, as in many other sacred things, appears to have been connected with Babylonian, Assyrian, and Chaldæan traditions and celestial observations.*

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the Muhammedans call him Khidr, or *evergreen*. D'Herbelot relates that Elias appeared to Fadilah, a chief of the Arabs, at the resting place in the pass of Zardah, before alluded to, upon the occasion of the capture of Holwan, in the sixteenth year of the Hegira. It is in reference to this superstition, that a Turkish poet observes, "keep yourselves from believing that this world is your home; your home is in heaven alone; strive, therefore, by the means of virtue to reach that home where Elias dwells, and where a place is prepared for you."

* Thus Sir Henry Rawlinson has ascertained by the denudation of the Birs-i-Nimrud, that the Babylonian temples consisted of seven stages, each dedicated to one of the planets, and coloured externally with the colours attributed to the seven planets in the works of the Sabæan astrologers, and traditionally handed down from the Chaldeans.

Thus we had also the seven walls of Ecbatana, described by Herodotus as being of the seven colours, which, among the Eastern nations, denoted the seven great heavenly bodies, or the seven climates in which they revolve.

Thus Nizami, in his poem of the Heft Peïker, describes a seven-bodied palace, built by Bahram Gur, nearly in the same terms as Herodotus. The palace dedicated to Saturn, he says, was black; that of Jupiter, orange, or more strictly sandal-wood colour (in Persian, sandali; in Greek, σανδαράχινος); of Mars, scarlet; of the sun, golden; of Venus, white; of Mercury, azure; and of the moon, green, a hue which is applied by the orientals to silver.

The number seven was of great importance among the Jews. There were seven offerings in making a covenant, seven lamps in the golden candlestick, seven trumpets, seven lamps, seven seals. Balaam ordered seven ram altars to be erected. There were seven spirits before the throne. The Hebrew root from whence the numeral is derived gives the idea of sufficiency and fulness. It was considered a fortunate number among the Persians. Cicero calls it the knot

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Father Garzoni appears to have been the first among modern travellers who called attention to the singular fact of the Izedis paying adoration, or at least a sort of worship, to the figure of a bird placed on a kind of candlestick, and called Melek Tâus. Mr. Rich and Mr. Fraser corroborated the fact. "Once a year," says the latter, "they worship the figure of a *cock*, which is called Malik Tâus, placed before the assembly on a sort of candlestick." Since that time, the same fact has been attested by numerous missionaries and travellers.

Unfortunately, some discrepancy has arisen in the translation of the word Melek Tâus, from the convertibility of the vowels, as well as in the orthography, as also the several meanings of the same word, in oriental languages. Melek means king in Hebrew, and malâk, angel. Hence Melek Tâus has been translated by Hyde (*Vet. Pers. Relig. Hist.*, p. 518) as "angel peacock;" by Layard, in the same page (*Nineveh and its Remains*, vol. i, p. 245), as both "king" and "angel;" and by the Rev. Dr. Justin Perkins, missionary of American Board, "mighty angel" (see *Miss. Her.* Feb. 1838, p. 53). But almost all others translate it king cock, or king peacock. Melek, pronounced malik, is a term still used among the Khaldis to designate their chiefs,—in the sense of king, not of angels. A writer in the *Journal* of the American Oriental Society (vol. iii, p. 502) says: "The grammatical interpretation of Melek Tâus, 'king peacock,' we may now consider as established." So far true, but Tâus is also used for the cock simply, as well as for peacock; just as Taok signifies in the Kurdish and Turkish languages poultry generally. It is also used sometimes in the general sense of a bird, and the Taochians, mentioned by Xenophon as met with in Georgia, appear to have been so called from their living like birds, perched on high mountain fortresses.*

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and cement of all things, as being that by which the natural and spiritual world are comprehended in one idea. (Tusc. Quæst., i, 10.)

* Mr. Lobdell, missionary of the American Board, who visited Sheikh Adi in October 1852, on the occasion of the annual festival of the Izedis at that place, says, "There was music and dancing every night during the festival, before Melek Taoos, King Peacock, or the devil's image, as one of the sheikhs privately informed me." One of the chief priests accounted to him for the devil's being called Melek Taus or Taoos, as follows:—

"When Christ was on the cross, in the absence of his friends, the devil in the fashion of a dervish took him down, and carried him to heaven. The Marys soon came, and seeing that their Lord was not there, inquired of the dervish where he was. They would not believe his answer; but they promised to do so, if he would take the pieces of a cooked chicken from which he was eating, and bring the animal to life. He assented to the proposal; and, bringing back bone to his bone, the *cock* crew! The dervish then announced his real character, and they expressed their astonishment by a burst of adoration. Having informed them that he would thenceforth always appear to his beloved in the shape of a beautiful bird, he departed."

The only thing that would appear from this absurd myth is that the Izedis do not look upon the bird as a peacock, but as a cock.

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The writer was, on the occasion of his visit to Sheikh Adi, unsuccessful in obtaining any information in regard to this bird worship. It appears, indeed, that the greatest secrecy and reserve are observed by the Izedis with respect to the worship of this symbol. When Mr. Layard, at a subsequent period, attended the annual festival of the Izedis at the same place, although he was regarded by them as their friend and protector, still he was not allowed to see the sacred symbol.

"Some ceremony," he relates, "took place before I joined the assembly at the tomb, at which no stranger can be present, nor could I learn its nature from the Kawals. Sheikh Nasr gave me to understand that their holy symbol, the Malek Taus, was then exhibited to the priests, and he declared that, as far as he was concerned, he had no objection to my witnessing the whole of their rites; but many of the Sheikhs were averse to it, and he did not wish to create any ill-feeling in the tribe." (*Nineveh and its Remains*, vol. i, pp. 293-294.)

It appears from the same authority that there is some association of ideas in existence among the Izedis between the Devil and the Melek Tâus. "When they speak of the Devil," says Layard, "they do so with reverence as Malik Taus, 'King Peacock,' or Malik al Kut, 'the Mighty Angel.'"*

Dr. Forbes says, "At the village of Sheikh Adi is the figure of a peacock in brass, called Malik Taus (King Peacock), which is venerated as the emblem or representative of David and Solomon, to whom they (the Izedis) offer sacrifices, and of whom there are images near the Malik Taus.

When Layard returned to Assyria in 1848-49, in company with the Kawal Yusuf, bearer of an Imperial firman giving the Izedis equal rights with Mussulmans, a complete toleration of their religion, and relief from the much-dreaded laws of conscription, there was nothing that these poor persecuted people would not almost have done for him.

Being in Redwan, a town in Kharzan, part of ancient Armenia, on the upper Tigris, at the time that the Kawals were collecting the revenues, upon which occasion they always have with them their national symbol the Melek Tâus, he asked to see the mysterious figure, and was not refused. "I was conducted," he relates, "early in the morning into a dark inner room in Nazi's house. It was some time before my eyes had become sufficiently accustomed to the dim light to distinguish an object, from which a large red coverlet had been raised on my entry. The Kawals drew near with every sign of respect, bowing and kissing the corner of the cloth in which

* Here, as in all other instances when quoting, the orthography used by the writer is adhered to.

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it was placed. A stand of bright copper or brass, in shape like the candlesticks generally used in Musul and Baghdad, was surmounted by the rude image of a bird in the same metal, and more like an Indian or Mexican idol than a cock or peacock. Its peculiar workmanship indicated some antiquity, but I could see no traces of inscription upon it."

This, it is to be understood, was only a copy of the original symbol or banner of the tribe kept at Sheikh Adi. Layard tells us there are four such images, one for each district visited by the Kawals.

The Izedis declare that, notwithstanding the frequent wars and massacres to which the sect has been exposed, and the plunder and murder of the priests during their journeys, no Melek Tâus has ever fallen into the hands of the Mussulmans. Kawal Yusuf, once crossing the desert on a mission to Sinjar, and seeing a body of Bedwin horsemen in the distance, buried the Melik Taus. Having been robbed and then left by the Arabs, he dug it up, and carried it in safety to its destination.

Not the least interesting fact associated with the existence of this strange ornithological symbol is the connexion that is manifest between it and certain sacred symbols found carved on the rocks at Bavian, near Sheikh Adi. In the latter we have simple or ornamented stands, staffs, or cylinders, bearing the ram's head, sacred among the Izedis as well as the Assyrians, bulls' heads, and the fir cone, citron, or other well known conical emblem. In the Melek Tâus, we have a bird instead of the more common Assyrian symbols; and, for want of a better, a modern brass candlestick is made to serve for a pedestal or staff. Perhaps it is not so in the original at Sheikh Adi. Still, the evident connexion between this modern symbol and the more ancient sacred symbols of the Assyrians sculptured on the Royal Tablets at Bavian, tends to identify still more closely the Izedis with their predecessors in the same country. And the very fact of these sculptures being met with in the vicinity of their chief sanctuary, and where they keep their sacred banner, lends additional strength to this view of the subject.

With one exception, all travellers agree that, whatever may be the reading of Melek Tâus, king or angel, cock or peacock (and the poor ignorant and superstitious Izedis may confound the four), that the bird symbol is associated with the Evil Spirit.

That exception is Dr. Grant, who, on the contrary, asserts that the angel of light, or good principle, is represented by the Melek Tâus; and he remarks that it is represented not by a peacock but by a COCK, that bird being the harbinger of day.

It is not, however, solely from its association with old Assyrian

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symbol worship, as depicted on the neighbouring rocks of Bavian, that we would deduce the pre-Magian or Persian origin of this bird-worship, but other circumstances come to the support of this view of the subject.

The idol of the Cuthites, called Nergal in 2 Kings xvii, 30, has been identified by the Rabbinical commentators with the cock. The Babylonian Talmudic treatise Sanhedrin (fol. 63, p. 2) offers the following explanation of the passage which states that the men of Kuth made Nergal their god. "And what was it? A cock."

Another Rabbinical allusion to the cock, as connected with the evil principle, is the following, which is taken from the same Talmudic treatise, Beracoth (fol. 6, p. 2): "He that wisheth to know them (the evil spirits) let him take sieved ashes, and lay them on the bed, and in the morning he will perceive thereon footsteps of a cock."

This identification has been disputed by Nerberg, Geşenius, and other inquirers into the astrolatry of the Assyrians and Chaldæans, and who consider that the idol represented Mars. The two conjectures are not inconsistent with one another, for the harbinger of day has been from remote times associated with the worship of the god of war.

According to Professor Movers, in his valuable work *Die Religion der Phœnizier*, p. 423, the cock was the symbol of the planet Mars, from the fact of the combative propensity of this bird, which therefore constituted him the type of the god of war. Movers considers the word as a co-ordinate form of another, which signifies an axe, and we have a representation of the latter on the lintel of the door at Sheikh Adi. (Compare the Syriac translation in Deut. xix, 5, and Matthew iii, 10.)

It has lately been argued, however, by Dr. Jolowicz, that the cock worship of the Cuthites had nothing to do with Mars, but that it was a Moloch cultus, comprising the sacrifice of children. Dr. Jolowicz argues, in favour of this view of the subject, that the Talmud classified the cock among the demons on account of its lustful propensities; that the Izedis at the present day call their deified cock Melek Tâus, in which the term Moloch is plainly discernible; and because the Assyrian coins show the representation of Dagon together with Nergal (the fish and the cock), he says there is little doubt but that both gods thus placed together represent the Phallus and Moloch worship.

There is no doubt that the Satanic associations connected with the Melek Tâus lend some countenance to the view entertained by Dr. Jolowicz, but they are not borne out by the other bearings of the question.

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The word Nergal, for example, contains the Cuthian (ancient Mede and Persian) word for fire, as well as the Sabian name for Mars, according to Nerberg and Gesenius. Van Bohlen finds the name also in the Sanscrit Nrigal, "man devourer," spoken of a fierce warrior, and corresponding to Merodach, the Mars of the Assyrians and Chaldæans. (Gesenius, *Thesaur.* p. 913, and *Comment. zu Jesu*, ii, p. 344.)

The word is also traceable in a variety of forms, all having reference more or less to the same idea. Thus Nergal Sharezer, prince of fire (Jer. xxxix, 3), Boanerges, son of thunder (Mark iii, 17), Anerges or Astara, of the dynasty of Phanagoria (Dubois de Montpereux, tome v, p. 59.). Nur in the Arabic, as Kalah en Nur, Castle of Light, and Jebel en Nur, Mountain of Light, in Cilicia, and Nurhag, or fire temple, in Sardinia.

The site of the city of the Cuthites, in Babylonia, called by the Hebrews Kuth or Cutha, and by Abu Muhammed, in his *Universal History*, Kutha, has been for some time proximatively known to archæologists (*Res. in Assyria*, p. 165). Dr. Julius Oppert believes the mound which constitutes the north-east corner of the boundaries of ancient Babylon, and which is in the present day called Oheimer, to be the actual ruins of the Temple of Nergal. (*Trans. of the Hist. Soc. of Lancashire and Cheshire*, vol. viii, p. 97.)

There seems little doubt that the cock symbol was not confined to the temple of the Cuthites, but was known extensively among the Chaldæans and Assyrians, for it is met with on several Assyrian cylinders. A gem has been figured by Mr. Layard, being an agate cone, upon the base of which is engraved a winged priest or deity, standing in an attitude of prayer before a cock on an altar. On a cylinder in the British Museum, a priest is represented, wearing the sacrificial dress, standing at a table before an altar bearing a crescent, and a smaller altar, on which stands a cock.

The cock may indeed be considered at the head of what were known in antiquity as Iynges or sacred birds, and more particularly connected with the Assyrian as well as Babylonian religions. They were a kind of demons who exercised a peculiar influence over mankind, resembling the Ferouher of the Zoroastrian system. (Ignatius *de Insomn.*, p. 134, ed. Patav. Schol. Niceph.) The oracles attributed to Zoroaster describe them as powers animated by God—

"Νοούμεναι ἴυγγες πατρόθεν ὁρόωσι καὶ αὐταί
Βουλαῖς ἀφθέγκτοισι κινούμεναι ὥστε νοῆσαι."
(The intelligible Iynges themselves understand from the Father;
By ineffable counsels being moved so as to understand.)
Psell. 41; Plet. 31.

(Zoroaster, *Oracul. Magn. ad calcem Oracul. Sybill.*, ed. Gall.,

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p. 80, and Cory's *Fragments*, p. 250.) Their images, made of gold, were in the palace of the King of Babylon, according to Philostratus (lib. i, c. 25, and lib. vi, c. 2.). They were connected with magic. (Selden *de Dis Syriis*, p. 39.) It is possible that the bird borne by warriors, in a bas relief from the ruins of the central palace of Nimrud, may represent the Iynges. Layard has given a representation of this bird in *Nineveh and its Remains*, vol. ii, p. 462. This figure, he adds, may, however, resemble the golden eagle carried before the Persian monarchs. (Xenophon, *Cyroped.* lib. vii; *Anab.* lib. ix; Quintus Curtius, lib. iii, c. 3.)

It is not the place here to enter upon the much vexed question as to the locality of the land of Cush, rendered in the Vulgate Ethiopia. As Cush was the eldest son of Ham, he must have had a primary settlement in the land of Babel, before his descendants went forth to people Arabia, or emigrate across the Red Sea to Ethiopia Proper. Nimrod was also a descendant of Cush, and he would have taken with him to the land of Asshur the idols of the Babylonian Cushites. Shalmaneser transplanted Cushites or Cuthites from Asia into the land of Israel, which he had desolated. (2 Kings xvii, 24-30.) From the intermixture of these colonists with the remaining natives sprung the Samaritans, who are called Cuthites in the Chaldee and in the Talmud, and, for the same reason, a number of non-Semitic words which occur in the Samaritan dialect are called Cuthian.

The Hamitic or Scythic element, which prevails in the most ancient cuneiform records throughout Babylonia and Susiana, has induced Sir Henry Rawlinson, the eminent decipherer of these inscriptions, to believe that in the earliest ages, previous to the historic period (which commenced with the empire of Nimrod), the Semitic race which dwelt in the region north of the Persian Gulf was gradually dispossessed by a powerful stream of invasion or colonization from the south, and that the said Hamitic or Scythic element pointed to Ethiopia as the mother country of the new settlers.

It is, however, well deserving of consideration how much the existence of a Hamitic race in the heart of Chaldæa, extending itself to Assyria on the one hand, to Susiana on the other, and even transported into Israel, may have had to do with this original Scythic element in the oldest cuneiform inscriptions; and if we do not invert the real state of things by supposing an Ethiopic invasion subsequent to a Semitic peopling by descendants of Shem. It is more probable, as advocated by most Biblical scholars, that the Cuthites peopled Susiana, Arabia, parts of Assyria, and Africa, than that Africans came to people their original country.

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However this may be, the Izedis have, by their language and by their characteristic Nergal worship, a nearer relationship to the Cuthite Babylonians—the descendants of Ham and of Nimrod—than to the Semitic Babylonians; and this is precisely what might be expected of an ancient people dwelling in Assyria Proper. In the Khaldis, Chaldæans, or Nestorian Christians, we find apparently the representatives of the other race—the descendants of Semitic Chaldæans or Assyrians.

Mr. Fraser remarks in his little work on *Mesopotamia and Assyria* (ed. of 1842, p. 327) of the Izedis, that they pay regard to sundry images of animals; to that of the serpent, in memory of the seduction of Eve by that reptile, and to that of the ram, in remembrance of the obedience of Abraham.

When the writer visited Sheikh Adi, in 1846, he was much struck by finding rudely carved in the lintel of the doorway of the principal edifice a snake, an unknown animal, and a hatchet. It was impossible not to perceive that this rude carving of a snake, painted black, in such a place, was strongly corroborative of what had been reported of the regard paid to this well known symbol of evil.

Mr. Layard, who has since visited and explored this sanctuary more frequently and leisurely, discovered also carvings of a man and a comb. The animal he detected to be a lion. "Although," he says, "it might be suspected that these figures were emblematic, I could obtain no other explanation from Sheikh Nasr than that they had been cut by the Christian mason who repaired the tomb some years ago, as ornaments suggested by his mere fancy." *Nineveh and its Remains*, vol. i, p. 282. The reserve observed in this matter can, however, be readily understood.

The Sheikh was exceedingly anxious not to offend the prejudices of his guest. This was particularly manifest in his carefully avoiding all allusions so the Evil Spirit. Yet an accident brought all the acuteness of their feelings upon this subject into full play. Whilst Mr. Layard was seated in the court, a boy had forced himself to the very end of a weak bough, immediately over the visitor's head, and threatened every moment to break under his weight. As he looked up, he saw the impending danger, and he made an effort, by an appeal to the chief, to avert it. "Is that young Shait"—he exclaimed, about to use an epithet in common use in the East, but he checked himself immediately. But, he says, it was too late; half the dreaded word had escaped. The effect was instantaneous; a look of horror seized those who were near enough to overhear him, and it was quickly communicated to those beyond. The pleasant smile which usually played upon

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the fine features of the young Bey gave way to a serious and angry expression.

Nothing can be more manifest than this regard for the Evil Spirit, and it is not likely that the Izedis would have permitted the carvings in question without a reason or without a sanction.

In the monuments at Konyunjik, which refer to the later Assyrian period after fire worship was introduced, two serpents attached to poles are seen as emblems or symbols, associated with two eunuchs, who are standing before an altar upon which is the sacred fire. This sculpture is figured in Layard's *Nineveh and its Remains*, vol. ii, p. 469. Hera, the same as Astarta, Mylitta, or Venus, held a serpent in one hand, and so she is represented in the Egyptian tablet of Ken, or Hera, in the British Museum, and figured by Layard (*Nin.*, vol. ii, p. 212). Serpents were also emblems of the goddess Rhea, as we see in Diodorus and the rock sculptures of Malthaiyah. Ophiolatry no doubt existed, under one form or another, among the Assyrians, as among all ancient nations; and, with the creeping in of corrupt ideas and practices, may like other things, as argued by Landseer in his *Sabæan Researches*, have assumed an astronomical character.

In reference to another carved symbol, the axe or hatchet, it may be observed that it was the attribute of the Baal or Belus of the Assyrians. This is particularly noticed in a passage in the Epistle of Jeremiah; "He hath also in his right hand a dagger and an axe;" and it is illustrated by a bas relief, probably of the later Assyrian period, discovered in the ruins of the south-west palace at Nimrud, and figured by Layard (*Nineveh and its Remains*, vol. ii, p. 456), in which a procession of warriors are carrying on their shoulders four images, one of which appears to be Baal, holding a hatchet in one hand and a bundle of sticks in the other.

It is further illustrated by an Assyrian cylinder, engraved in the *Athenæum Français* for the 5th of January, 1856, and which represents a priest making offerings to a deity, represented under the form of a hatchet.*

The lion, it is almost needless to remark, was an Assyrian emblem; but with regard to the comb, it would be difficult to

* We find four snakes in the Egyptian hieroglyphs: the Uræus, emblem of divinity or royalty; the Cerastes, representing the letter F; a Python, representing the letter M; and a Boa, representing the letter L. But still, as Mr. Sharpe remarks (on the triple mummy case of Arorerias, p. 20), both in the sculptures and pictures the latter is known early and late as the type of sin and wickedness, the enemy of the human race; and in particular in later times, as opposed to the uræus with the swollen crest (cobra capella), which was the type of goodness.

The axe or hatchet invariably represented in hieroglyphs the word God. Bal or Baal was represented by an eye—"the eye of providence."

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venture a surmise, except it were that the rude carving was meant to represent something which has been taken for a comb.

It does not appear who was the first to bring against the Izedis the charge adduced against several sects in Western Asia, of putting out the lights upon the occasion of certain festivals, and indulging in indiscriminate intercourse. Those who are said to indulge in such abominable practices have been called Chiraok Kush or Chirajh Sundiran, "Extinguishers of Lights."* Such a charge, however, the writer was led at once, from what little opportunity he had of observing the character of these persecuted people, to denounce as having all the appearance of being "a base calumny, assailing human nature in general, while aimed against the poor Izedis in particular" (*Trav. and Res.*, vol. ii, p. 185); and it is gratifying to find that Mr. Layard, who enjoyed much more extensive opportunities of observing the same people, sides with this view of the subject. "The mysteries of the sect", says Layard, "have been traced to the worship introduced by Semiramis into the very mountains they now inhabit,—a worship which, impure in its forms, led to every excess of debauchery and lust. The quiet and inoffensive demeanour of the Yezidis, and the cleanliness and order of their villages, do not certainly warrant these charges."

In another place, describing the picturesque and striking practices at the great annual festival at Sheik Adi, he says, "Thus were probably celebrated ages ago the mysterious rites of the Corybantes, when they met in some consecrated grove. I did not marvel that such wild ceremonies had given rise to those stories of unhallowed rites and obscene mysteries which have rendered the name of Yezidi an abomination in the East. Notwithstanding the uncontrollable excitement which appeared to prevail amongst all present, there were no indecent gestures or unseemly ceremonies. When the musicians and singers were exhausted, the noise suddenly died away; the various groups resumed their previous cheerfulness, and again wandered through the valley, or seated themselves under the trees."

"So far," adds the same authority, "from Sheikh Adi being the scene of the orgies attributed to the Yezidis, the whole valley is held sacred, and no acts, such as the Jewish law has declared to be impure, are permitted within the sacred precincts."

* Dr. Frederick Forbes says, in Journal of Royal Geo. Society, vol. ix, p. 425, "On the tenth day of the moon, in the month of August, they hold a meeting at the tomb of Sheikh Adi, which lasts a day and a night, and at which all the married women and men assemble. After dark the lights are extinguished, and they hold promiscuous intercourse till morning." This was probably from some Mussulman authority.

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Near the mausoleum of Sheikh Adi, there existed a low edifice, neatly constructed, and, like all the sacred edifices of the Izedis, kept as pure as repeated coats of whitewash can make it. It is called the Sanctuary of Sheikh Shems, or "of the Sun;" and it is so built that the first rays of that luminary should as frequently as possible fall upon it. At the great annual festival white oxen are sacrificed to Sheikh Shems, and their flesh is distributed among the poor. "The dedication of the bull to the sun," Mr. Layard remarks, "so generally recognised in the religious systems of the ancients, probably originated in Assyria, and the Izedis may have unconsciously preserved a myth of their ancestors." (*Nineveh and its Remains*, vol. i, p. 289.)

The idea of a myth *unconsciously* preserved is very much opposed to Mr. Layard's notions of the Izedi devotedness to their faith. Elsewhere (p. 277) he says, "Their devotion to their religion is no less remarkable than that of the Jews; and I remember no instance of a person of full age renouncing his faith. They invariably prefer death, and submit with resignation to the tortures inflicted upon them. Even children of tender age, although educated in Turkish harems, and nominally professing the Mussulman religion, have frequently retained in secret the peculiar doctrines of the sect, and have been in communication with Izedi priests." A people so steadfast to the faith of their ancestors are not likely to have preserved a myth unconsciously; on the contrary, the preservation of this and other myths tends to throw a remarkable light upon whom those ancestors, as shadowed forth by Mr. Layard, are likely to have been.

The lighting up of Sheikh Adi, and the illumination of the neighbourhood at the great annual festival, are attended by circumstances which exhibit manifest traces of fire worship. At twilight the Fakirs issue from the mausoleum to fill and trim lamps, placed in niches in the walls of the court yard, and scattered over the buildings on the side of the valley, and even on isolated rocks and in the hollow trunks of trees. Innumerable stars appear to glitter on the sides of the mountain, and in the dark recesses of the forest. As the guardians of the sacred fires make their way through the crowd to perform their task, men and women pass their right hands through the flames; and after rubbing the right eye-brow with the part which had been purified by the sacred element, they devoutly carried it to their lips. Some, Layard describes, who bore children in their arms, anointed them in like manner; whilst others held out their hands to be touched by those who, less fortunate than themselves, could not reach the flame.

The lamps are votive offerings from pilgrims, or from those

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who have appealed to Sheikh Adi in times of danger or disease. A yearly sum is given to the guardians of the tomb for oil, and for the support of the priests who tend the lamps. They are lighted every evening as long as the supplies last. In the day time the smoked walls mark the places where they are placed, and Layard says he has observed the Izedis devoutly kissing the blackened stones.

Upon the occasion of his second visit to Sheikh Adi, the Kawal Yusuf confirmed to Mr. Layard the fact of the small Ziyarah being dedicated to the sun, who, he said, is called by the Izedis Wakil al Ardth, "the Lieutenant or Governor of the World." But he denied that they had any particular reverence for fire; the people, he said, passed their hands through the flame of the lamps merely because they belong to the tomb. This statement of the Kawal is, however, manifestly contradicted by the practices of the Izedis. The same priest declared also that their Kablah was the Polar Star, and not the East. This may be, but the evidences of adoration of the sun are too numerous to admit of doubt.

Nothing, indeed, more clearly results from the observations of different travellers than that the Izedis bow in adoration before the rising sun, and kiss his first rays when they strike on a wall or other object near them, like those of other

> "Eastern realms, where early Persians run
> To greet the bless'd appearance of the sun."
> Ovid, i, 75.

Mr. Forbes seems to have thought that this adoration of the sun was symbolical of Jesus Christ, but there is nothing to justify such a supposition. We have, indeed, in the rites performed at the annual festival at Sheikh Adi—the votive lamps and their hereditary guardians—the ceremonies observed upon their being lighted up and the reverence paid to them, even to passing the hand through them and kissing the member thus consecrated, as well as in the worship of the sun, remnants —just as much of the Cuthite or Nergal worship—as of that Magian religion which was introduced after its reform by Zardusht or Zoroaster among the Assyrians.

Layard believes that the religion of the early Assyrians was a pure Sabæanism, in which the heavenly bodies were worshipped as mere types of the power and attributes of the Supreme Deity.

The worship of fire, a corruption of Sabæanism, the same authority tells us, originated or generally prevailed in Assyria about the time of the building of the Khorsabad and Koujunjik edifices.

Dr. Grant pointed out that the system of faiths of the Izedis

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had points of strong resemblance to the ancient Manichean heresy; and it is probable, he said, that they are a remnant of that heretical sect. This idea, he further argues, derives support from the fact that they seem to have originated in the region where Manes first laboured and propagated his tenets with the greatest success; and from the coincidence of the name of their reputed founder or most revered teacher, Adde, with an active disciple of Manes, of the same name and place of abode.

These suggestions are worthy of consideration and investigation, for it is impossible, notwithstanding Haxthausen's assertion that their religion is not of Parsee origin (for with them Satan is not like Ahriman, a personification of the Evil Principle), not to feel that it is more than likely that their notions of the Evil Being were, in part at least, derived from the Ahriman of the ancient Magi (not wholly so, or they would have also the Good Principle in opposition) and from the secondary or Evil Deity of the Manicheans, which was evidently engrafted on the Oriental philosophy, and is, indeed, to be met with in most of the earlier Arabian Muhammedan writers. The connexion established between Sheikh Adi and Adde, the Manichean teacher, is the more remarkable, as the history of their teacher, and even the date of his existence, have been almost lost by this persecuted sect. It is easy to understand, should such be the case, how the title of Sheikh has been superadded, as it has ridiculously enough in the case of the sun, who appears to be personified among these poor ignorant people by a Sheikh Shems!

Sheikh Nasr informed Layard that the Izedis had a date of their own, and that he believed we were then, according to their account, in the year 1550. This, he remarked, suggested some connection with Manes; but he could not ascertain, either by direct or indirect questions, that they were acquainted with the name, or recognised him in any wise as the originator of their peculiar doctrines with regard to the Evil Principle.

These, in fact, seem, as before said, to be in their origin of far more remote antiquity, and date back to early Cuthite times.

Mr. Rich states, among other things, that the Izedis believe in the metempsycosis, never saying "such a one is dead," but "he is changed." This doctrine was a part of most of the religious systems of antiquity, Chaldæan, Assyrian, Egyptian, and Hindhu.

Dr. Grant advocates a Jewish origin to the Izedis. He argues that they, as well as the Khaldis, or Nestorian Christians, are all the descendants of the lost ten tribes.

The first evidence adduced in support of this position, is their practice of that remarkable rite of the Abrahamic covenant, circumcision. But, in answer to this, it is sufficient to observe

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that Forbes did not find that this rite, common to Mussulmans, as well as to Jews, was any where in practice amongst the Izedis of Sinjar; and Haxthausen says, that the Russian Izedis not only did not practise circumcision, but despised the rite, because it was that of their enemies, the Muhammedans and the Jews. It appears to be sometimes practised by the Izedis of Kurdistan, but Layard ascertained, on his second visit, that it is optional among them.

The second proof is derived from the practice among the Izedis of offering sacrifices, a practice which was quite as much Assyrian as it was Jewish.

The third is the observance of the Passover or Easter festival, which Haxthausen thought was a Christian observance; but it is probably, with the Izedis, of neither Jewish nor Christian origin. The Easter festival was no doubt an ancient pagan observance.

A fourth argument is derived from their abstinence from meats prohibited to the Jews. But abstinence from pork is as much a Muhammedan practice as a Jewish one. And their Hebrew descent can no more be deduced from such an abstinence, almost essential to health in some climates, than can their descent from the followers of Yezid from their abstinence from lettuces, because an absurd tradition exists that Husain was slain in a garden full of such vegetables.

The testimony of a Chaldæan author is more to the purpose, but even upon this, no greater reliance can be placed than upon the authority of Assemani, who traces their origin to the Persians, or of the Turkish author of the Jihan Numa, who upholds the usual Muhammedan tradition of their descent from the Arabian followers of Yezid.

Dr. Grant, in his anxiety to identify the Chaldæans of the Nestorian Church, and the Izedi Assyrians, with the lost ten tribes, identifies Halah of the captivity, a city of Media, upon the river Gozan, with Hatareh, an Izedi village. To corroborate this, he assumes the identity of Halah, and Calah, which latter city Sir Henry Rawlinson has ascertained from the inscriptions to be represented by the ruins of Nimrud. Resen, Dr. Grant also identifies with Ras al Ain, between Hatareh and Nineveh (not the Ras al Ain of Sinjar, the Roman Resaina); whereas, Sir Henry Rawlinson identifies the same primeval city with Kalah Shirgat,—others having perhaps with equal plausibility sought for it at Nimrud—the Larissa of Xenophon.

Dr. Grant himself admits that the remains of Sabæanism, found among the Izedis, militates against the idea of their Hebrew origin; and, indeed, the proofs he advances in favour of such an idea will scarcely bear serious discussion.

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Layard simply says "that he could not trace the Hebrew descent of the Izedis, which Dr. Grant could discover in them, as well as in almost every other sect in Assyria."

Haxthausen also remarks that "it does not appear that any vestiges of the Jewish law or rites exist amongst them, though it has been asserted that they hold in reverence the First Book of Moses."

A very interesting consideration, as opening a field for missionary labour, is the high regard which the Izedis entertain towards the Christian religion. Dr. Grant even says, that, in some sense, at least, they believe in Christ as a Saviour. They practise the rite of baptism, make the sign of the cross so emblematical of Christianity in the east, put off their shoes, and kiss the threshold when they enter a Christian church; and it is said they often speak of wine as the blood of Christ, holding the cup up with both hands, after the sacramental manner of the east, when drinking it; and if a drop chance to fall on the ground, they lick it up with religious care.

The fact of the Izedis putting off their shoes, and kissing the threshold of a Christian church before entering, was noticed by Mr. Rich, and was corroborated by Mr. Buckingham, who says that "whenever the Izedis of Sinjar come to Mardin, and other places, they kiss the hands of the priests, and receive the sacrament from them, suffering not a drop of the wine to fall to the ground, or even on their beards while drinking it."

Layard also describes the Izedis as chanting at the great annual festival, at Sheikh Adi, the Makam Azerat Esau, or the song of the angel Jesus. They are said to expect the second coming of Christ, and they reverence the New Testament, but not so much as the Kuran.

Their year begins with that of the eastern Christians, whom they follow also in the order and names of the months. They do not, however, keep the Christian sabbath.

Forbes corroborates, with regard to the Izedis of Sinjar, that they occasionally visit the Christian churches and monasteries, and present offerings there on account of recovery from sickness, or escape from danger; they also kiss the superior's hand.

From information obtained at his second journey, Layard says, that they believe that Christ will come to govern the world; but that after him, Sheikh Madhi will appear, to whom will be given special jurisdiction over those speaking the Kurdish language, including the Izedis: but this, Layard remarks, is evidently a modern interpolation derived from Mussulman sources, perhaps invented to conciliate the Muhammedans. The fact is, that their Christianity and Muhammedanism are alike doubtful: and whatever exists of either,

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is probably merely superimposed upon their fire and devil worship, by imitative habit, and for purposes of conciliation. For example, they exclude Muhammedans from all future life, but not Christians. But this latter reserve, Layard himself acknowledges, may have been said merely to avoid offence.

Haxthausen asserts of the Russian Izedis, that they declared their belief in one God, and added that they regarded Jesus as the Son of God, and venerated Mary, the mother of Jesus, with certain holy men. Amongst the rest, Surb Kework (evidently St. George, whom the Armenians also honour under the name of St. Mogni), sometimes going on pilgrimage to the monastery of that saint in Armenia.

The same authority further says, that though the Izedis designate Christ as the Son of God, they do not recognise his divinity. The acknowledgment then must, on their part, be only a portion of that system of temporising, which seems to be characteristic of these unfortunate and persecuted people. Hence it is, that there is so much that is contradictory in the statements of different travellers. As to the rite of baptism, by immersion in a holy well, it appears to have been in practice among the Assyrians before the coming of our Saviour.

Although the Muhammedans, Sunnis, and Shi'ahs alike repudiate the Izedis, the latter do not reject the Kuran, although, like the New Testament, they consider both less entitled to their veneration than the Old Testament. Their names are uniformly those of Mussulmans, and they select passages from the Kuran for their tombs and holy places. They look upon Muhammed as a prophet, as they do Abraham, and the patriarchs. They do not, however, keep the Moslem, any more than the Christian sabbath; nor do they observe the festival of the Ramazan. Forbes says, that the Izedis use nearly the same oaths as the Turks, Christians, and Jews indiscriminately; but that which to them is most binding, is to swear by the standard of Yezid. It is very likely, however, that his informant was a Mussulman.

The teachings of a certain Mirza Muhammed are also said to be propounded by the Izedi Sheikhs. Yet, with all this, it appears that as before stated, with the selfishness that characterises most peculiar faiths, they exclude Muhammedans from future life. Whatever there is, then, of Muhammedanism, among the Izedis, may fairly be attributed to the influence acquired over them by a few zealous or pious Sheikhs, whose history is not well known; to habits of imitation; to their dwelling now so many years among Mussulman populations; and to the desire of averting persecution and oppression at the hands of their hereditary enemies. All these influences com-

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bined, have not, however, sufficed to make them adopt Muhammed as the only prophet of God. "They are not a Muhammedan sect," says Haxthausen, "for they despise Muhammed and his doctrines."

The Turkish historian, Haji Khalfah, gives the following account of the Izedis in the Jihan Numa, or Spectacle of the World. "The Yezids reckon themselves disciples of Sheikh Adi or Hadi, who was one of the Merwanian Khalifs. The Yezids were originally Sufites, who have fallen into error and darkness. Those whom they call their Sheikhs, wear black turbans, whence they are called Kara Bash (black heads); they never hide their women. They buy places in Paradise from their Sheikhs, and on no account curse the Devil or Yezid. The Sheikh Hadi has made our fast and prayer a part of their abominable faith, and they say, that at the day of judgment he will cause numbers to enter into Paradise. They have a great enmity to the doctors of law."

This name of Yezids, or Yezidis, which they receive from the Muhammedans, has given origin to a commonly received opinion, that these people are the descendants of those Arabs who, under the directions of Shummur, the servant or follower of Yezid ben Muawiyah, put Hassan, the son of Ali, to death. This belief is strengthened among some by Shummur being regarded by them in the light of a great saint; hence, whatever Muhammedanism there is mixed up with their other tenets, partakes more of the Sunni or orthodox character than of the Shi'ah or Ali worship, so much so, that the Persians and other Shi'ahs hold it meritorious to kill any of the sect.

But Layard justly remarks that there is reason to believe that the name must be sought for elsewhere, as it was used long before this introduction of Muhammedanism, and is not without connection with the early Persian appellation of the supreme being.

Kawal Yusuf, for example, asserted that amongst the Izedis, the ancient name for God was Azed, and from it he derived the name of his sect. This corresponds precisely with the statement made by Assemani, who traces the origin of the word Yezidi, from Yezid, which he says in the idiom of Persia signifies God. Yezidi, the plural of Yezid, indicating the observers of superstitious doctrine.

Another origin has been given to the name, viz.—from Ized Ferfer, one of the attendants, according to the Parsis, upon the evil spirit. The evil spirit is also said to be called by them Ized.

Sir Henry Rawlinson, speaking of a position held by Heraclius beyond the lesser Zab, and which is designated as Iesdem

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both by Theophanes and in the emperor's own letter to the senate, concludes the place to have been a settlement of those whom he calls the heretical Izedis, "or, as they were afterwards named by the Muhammedans, Yezidis." (*Journal* of Roy. Geog. Soc., vol. x, p. 92.)

The Izedis have, according to Layard, a tradition that they originally came from Basrah, and from the country watered by the lower part of the Euphrates; and that after their emigration they first settled in Syria, and subsequently took possession of the Sinjar hills, and the districts they now inhabit in Kurdistan.

This tradition, Layard remarks, with the peculiar nature of their tenets and ceremonies, points to a Sabæan or Chaldæan origin. It is not improbable, says the same writer further on, that the sect may be a relic of the ancient Chaldees, who have at various times outwardly adopted the forms and tenets of the ruling people to save themselves from persecution and oppression, and have gradually, through ignorance, confounded them with their own belief and mode of worship. Such has been the case with a no less remarkable sect, the Sabæans or Mandai (the Christians of St. John, as they are commonly called), who still inhabit the banks of the Euphrates and the districts of ancient Susiana.

Forbes also, speaking of the Sinjarlis, although carried away by the commonly received opinion of the Izedis deriving their origin and name from Yezid, the son of Muawiyah, remarks that it is probable that they originally dwelt in Babylonia and Assyria; but being held in detestation by the Persians, on account of the destruction of the house of Ali by Yezid, and also detested by the Arabs as worshippers of the devil, they were driven into the strong and isolated hills of Sinjar, and the rugged mountains and defiles of Kurdistan. (*Journal* of Royal Geographical Society, vol. ix, p. 424.)

Haxthausen remarks of the Izedis that they are a religious sect, and not a distinct race. They are probably of Kurdish descent, and their religion is an obscured, disfigured Christianity. "They were," he says, "I imagine, originally a Gnostic sect, which in an early age separated or was expelled from the Christian church. Their doctrine of Satan is evidently the Gnostic doctrine of the Demiurgus; the position they assign to Christ reminds us of Arianism."

There are always sufficient analogies to be found in such delicate matters as questions of creed and doctrine, to support almost any conjectural views; but we think we have shewn enough to satisfy reflective minds that whatever there is of Christianity and Muhammedanism in the practice or belief of the Izedis has been superimposed upon more ancient forms.

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We have seen that the Izedis have been identified as descendants of the Arab followers of Yezid, by Haji Khalfah; as Persian Yezidis or observers of superstitious doctrines, by Assemani; as remains of the Lost Tribes, by Dr. Grant; as ancient Chaldæans from the Lower Euphrates, by Layard; and as Gnostic Christians, by Haxthausen.

But considering that their chief places of residence are the largest villages in the plain of Nineveh, that there dwells their temporal and spiritual head, and that there is their chief sanctuary and their chief burial place, we are inclined to look for another origin.

The clue to this presumed origin was afforded by the discovery that the neighbourhood of their chief sanctuary and place of pilgrimage was also a most sacred spot, devoted to the religious ceremonies and national sacrifices of the Assyrians of old. Here the late M. Rouet, French consul at Mosul, first met with rock sculptures, which Layard declares to be the most important that have yet been discovered in Assyria. They represent the great king Sennacherib, recording his deeds, and invoking Asshur and the great deities of Assyria; and over the head of the royal Assyrian are the sacred symbols, to which there can be little doubt that the celebrated Melek Taus —the representative of the demon bird of the Assyrians—bears a real analogy.

This analogy is further corroborated by the neighbourhood of the two sacred localities, by the existence at each of holy wells or springs, by the preservation at each of sun and fire worship and the practice of sacrifices; as also by other minor analogies before adverted to.

With both Assyrians and Izedis it is evident that the same animals were sacred. We have the tombs still preserving the peculiarly characteristic terraced form of Assyrian architecture, and we have the people themselves also holding by the cylinders and other relics of the Assyrians of old.

Lastly, this presumed Assyrian origin of the Izedis is further corroborated by the physical aspect of the people, who still preserve in many instances a remarkable analogy to some of the best marked countenances among the Assyrian sculptures, as also in the preservation of ringlets.

If the Assyrian origin of the Izedis were admitted, it would be easy to understand how the sun and fire worship should be traced rather to that source than to any Chaldæan or Sabæan origin; and it is further equally easy to understand how the doctrines of Adde, the disciple of Manes, may have been adopted by the fallen people, just in the same way as in more

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recent times their creed and their practices have become affected by Christian and Muhammedan influences alike.

As a relic of the Assyrians of old, they would just as soon as a relic of the ancient Chaldæans have at various times outwardly adopted the forms and tenets of the ruling people, to save themselves from persecution and oppression, and have gradually, through ignorance, confounded them with their own belief and mode of worship. We have possibly descendants of the Chaldæans of old in the Khaldis, now Nestorian Christians. Why should there be no remnant of the still more renowned Assyrians? And, if existing, why should it not be in Assyria Proper, where, among the actual dwellers in and around Nineveh, we find a race resembling in aspect the Assyrians depicted on the monuments of olden times; still adhering to many of the more striking practices of the Assyrians of old—sun and fire worship and sacrifices—and still preserving their national sanctuary with its sacred symbols, analogous to those depicted on the Assyrian royal tablets, in the immediate neighbourhood of what was manifestly also the chief national sanctuary of the ancient Assyrians?

III.—*On Maori Popular Poetry.* By William Bailey Baker, Esq.

There are few subjects more interesting to the ethnological inquirer, or which convey to him a clearer knowledge and perception of the mental condition of a primitive people, their manner of thinking and feeling, than their popular songs. For as Selden truly remarks, "More solid things do not show the complexion of the times so well as ballads." And though there exist no great epic streams to reflect the general character of Maori poetry, "these popular ballads", to use the words of an ingenious German writer, "are the sources and fountains which, with their network of rills, water and drain the whole country; and bringing to light what is hidden in the inmost bowels, pour out into lays the secrets of its heart's blood."

Maori poetry having as yet no history, any attempt at chronological order must be renounced. A considerable portion of it is, doubtless, comparatively ancient; for many mysterious allusions and long-forgotten words have been handed down, which the most learned priests of the present day cannot interpret or expound. The oldest compositions were evidently brought hither from the land whence they migrated about eight hundred years ago, and doubtless belong to an anterior period.

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Many of them may have been composed in Wharekura, the sacred temple and seat of Maori literature; for though originally intended for religious services only, it appears to have in some measure lost its sanctity, and instead of paying that strict attention and reverence to the teachings of the *tohunga*, or priests, which superstitious people are accustomed to do, tradition distinctly informs us that the time of the pupils was chiefly spent in composing and reciting *waiata*, or songs. And it is interesting to compare these ancient specimens of poetry with those of more modern times, as marking the changes which have taken place in the Maori mind subsequently to its separation from every other part of the world. There can be no doubt that the Maories have been far more civilized—if such a term may be applied to them—at one period of their history than they were at the beginning of the present century, and their ideas were consequently more refined and intelligible to the European mind. The name given by the first immigrants from Hawaiki to the northern island of New Zealand—the fish of Maui—and the surprising correctness with which they have assigned various portions of the island to different parts of the fish, clearly prove that they were well acquainted with its geographical features, and in the habit of frequent intercourse with each other. Indeed, there are almost indisputable proofs that some, at least, of the Maori race may trace their descent from Chinese or Japanese castaways, who would, doubtless, introduce some of the arts in which their countrymen excelled. So far, then, as the Maories are concerned, the "progressive development" theory has proved fallacious; for instead of advancing in the arts and manufactures which were essential to a comfortable existence when permanently settled in their new home, or even retaining the knowledge they originally possessed, each successive generation has retrograded, and lost many of the most valuable inventions of a former state of society.

It is somewhat remarkable that no distinct traces exist of the language spoken by the first inhabitants of New Zealand; nor have any of their songs survived. Tradition tells us that the ancestors of the present Maori race, on their arrival, found another people in possession of the country; but as they were greatly inferior in physical strength and courage to the new comers, who waged incessant war upon them, and hunted them down like wild beasts, they rapidly melted away, leaving no relic behind but their names in the rude songs and wild traditions of their conquerors.

The frequent irregularities to be met with in some of the oldest compositions, may naturally enough be attributed to their numerous reciters. Handed down from one generation

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to another, they were not only liable to various alterations and omissions, but the very class of men through whom they have been transmitted would almost preclude the possibility of their being strictly genuine. Improvisatores by profession, they exercised the faculty of invention as well as of memory; introducing ideas of their own for greater immediate effect, interpolating other passages, and omitting that which they deemed unworthy of the author. On the other hand again, some of the longest *waiata* in the Maori language are recited in different parts of the country with a surprising degree of accuracy. The harmonious flow of numbers and regularly recurring cadences alone could impress these indelibly upon the memory of those who heard them, and thus secure their being handed down to posterity, without even a change in the obsolete phraseology. Before the art of writing was known, and when the minds of men were not attracted by attempts to obtain a variety of knowledge, a faculty capable of so great improvement would naturally attain a large degree of excellence by careful culture and exercise. Memory was, in fact, the only vehicle by which the knowledge of past things could be retained; and so fully were the ancient Maori priesthood aware of this, that they repeated certain incantations and invoked supernatural aid for the benefit of those pupils to whom they committed their learning and the traditions of their forefathers. During the past years of the present century, the mind of the Maori youth has had fresh objects of interest to dwell upon; and it is not to be wondered at that they should feel disinclined to burden themselves with incidents and mystical, as well as mythological, allusions, preserved to them in language as dissimilar to that now spoken as that in which the admired compositions of Chaucer have been handed down to us.

For the full enjoyment of these compositions, it is necessary to adopt foreign feelings, views, and prejudices; lest, judging them by, and comparing them with, our own standard, we be led to form very erroneous opinions of the motives and actions therein described. It is not the peculiarity of structure alone in the songs of the Maori race which renders the right understanding and appreciation of them difficult, but the style of speaking and thinking, which is so altogether different from that of civilized nations. To depict them according to their native genius is a task which few can attempt with a certainty of success, while all must allow that in criticising a translation we are testing the original in a foreign dress. It is also the nature of poetry to affect a peculiar choice of words, so that however proficient a person may be in colloquial language, he may find himself wholly unable to understand the language of

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the songs. The greatest difficulty, however, arises from the remote and vague allusions so wrought into the piece, that even among themselves the songs of one tribe are almost unintelligible to another.

It being essential to all kinds of poetry that it should be confined to numbers and consist of some kind of verse, however rude, I will endeavour to prove that this rule attains in the Maori language, though its existence has been questioned by some of the best scholars. It is to this end that the composers indulge in the license of using words and syllables in a manner sometimes remote from the common acceptation, and contrary to the analogy of the language; so that they shorten them by taking from the number of syllables, or adding one or more for the sake of adapting the word to their immediate purpose, as in the following lines:—

"I hara mai koe
I taku makau tupu,
E nahana nei au
I whakamahana."

In this instance, the number of feet in the first line has been obtained by using a word of two syllables instead of a more common one of three; in fact, by changing the verb *haere*—to go—into *hara;* and in the third line by eking out the syllables by converting *nana* into *nahana.* Poetry, in every language, makes use of some such artifice for facilitating versification; but none, perhaps, has admitted this liberty more freely than the Maori.

The verses are of very unequal length, sometimes consisting of six or eight syllables, thus:—

"Nei au ka noho,
Kapakapa tu ana
Te tau o taku ate,
Me he rau kahakaha."

Or extending to twice that number, as in Te Rangiwhakaurua's Lament:—

"Nei ka noho i te po roa o Matiti,
Mokohiti noa te tau o taku ate;
Nuku mai, e hine, kia piri mai koe,—
Whakarukeruke noa i runga i aku ringa."

The construction of Maori poetry is not only abrupt and elliptical to an excess not allowed in the English language, but the license is carried so far as to disregard rules of grammar that are strictly regarded in prose; even altering words to make them sound more poetically. In Te Uira's Lament, a lofty mountain known as Tauwhara is spoken of as Tauwharara; and another commences—"*He raro aio,*" instead of "*He rangi aio.*" As has already been stated, it deals most arbitrarily with the syllables, and sometimes even inverts their order. On

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this subject, a profound Maori scholar writes:—"They will be found, for the most part, to consist chiefly in omissions of the articles *ko* and *te*, omissions of *ai*, of the pronouns, of such particles as *mei*, and of other complementary words; omissions of the nominative case, of the objective, often of the verb and verbal particles; omissions of the prepositions, changes of one preposition into another; unusual words introduced, and words sometimes inverted—exceedingly wild and abrupt metaphors, and transitions unexpected and rapid."

There may be observed in Maori poetry a certain conformation of the sentences, the nature of which is, that a complete sense is infused in every component part, and every member constitutes an entire verse; so that as the poems divide themselves in a manner spontaneously into periods, for the most part equal, so the periods are divided into verses or couplets, and form a composition cut and divided in a peculiar manner. As a striking example of this peculiarity, may be quoted the justly admired *tangi*, or lament, of Tepaea for her husband, who died after only a few hours illness:—

"See yonder is Kopu, the herald of morn,
Like the form of my friend returning to me.
I weep for his fledgelings now clinging around me;
Bereft of their parent, thus silent and fallen.
Aloof to the south rises Taupiri's peak;
And wildly the surges of Manukau chafe.
One day bore thee hence from the homes of the living,
Ere thy kindred could bind Motutara upon thee.
Return, oh return, and recline in thy dwelling;
That home where my heart-strings were twined around thee.
Oh, lost the sweet warbler that welcom'd the morn,
Departed and gone from its lover for ever."

Reference has already been made to poetry as the medium through which most, if not all, the more interesting incidents in the history of the Maori race have been handed down to our times. The following historical composition—a nursery song—probably one of the oldest that has been preserved, is interesting not only as giving the origin of the native name of every place from Whanganui, on the west coast, to Wairarapa, but also as illustrating the manner in which the oral traditions were transmitted from father to son. As the peculiarity of its style, and the numerous local allusions it contains, would render a literal translation wholly unintelligible, it will be sufficient to quote a few lines, and relate the tradition it is intended to convey:—

"Finding it was wide, Whanganui;
As the splashing of water, Whangaehu;
The length of a fallen tree, Turakina;
When his heart sank, Manawatu."

The singer, addressing his daughter, informs her that her

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ancestors came from Hawaiki in a canoe named Kurawhaupo; that they landed at Whenua-kura, where they built houses and planted *kumara*—sweet potatoes,—and then relates the incidents of a journey undertaken by Hau for the purpose of recovering his wife, Wairaka, who had eloped with a man named Weku. On reaching the first river, he named it, on account of its width, Whanganui—the great mouth; the next is described as being so near, that water from the Whanganui could be splashed as far; this he named Whangaehu—the splashed mouth—from *tiheu*, to bale water. The next river was so near, that the head of a tree, felled on the banks of the Whangaehu, would reach as far; it received the name of Turakina, from *turaki*—to throw down. Having walked a considerable distance before reaching the next river, he called it Tikei—a pace—from *tikei*, the action of the legs in walking. Passing on thence to a larger river, which he feared he should not be able to cross, he called it Manawatu—the stopped breath. Further on, the wind whistled past his ears; he called the place Hokio, after a bird which whistles in the night, and is considered an omen of death. A small creek he named Ohau—of Hau—after himself. He now carried his spear in a horizontal position; whence the next river received the name of Otaki, from *taki*, to level a spear when making a charge. When, being weary, he strengthened himself by prayers and incantations, he called the place Waimea, from *mehameha*, to make sacred. At the next river he looked out slyly from the corner of his eye to see if he could discover his wife, and called the place Waikanae. He breathed hard when he reached the place where Wairaka was sitting with her paramour. He said to her, "Wairaka, I am thirsty; fetch me some water." She got up, and walked down to the sea with a calabash in each hand. He required her to go on until the waves flowed over her shoulders, when he repeated a *karakia*, which converted her into a rock that still bears her name. Joyfully he went on his way, and called the next river Wairarapa—the glistening water. The last act is thus described:—

"When he was weary, my daughter,
He looked upon Wairaka;
He repeated an incantation,—
She became fixed above and below,
And remains ever immoveable.
When his eyes glistened with delight,
He called the place Wairarapa;
It was the rejoicing of your ancestor,—
This sky became cloudless, my daughter."

It will readily be understood that the meaning of the last line is, that having so signally avenged himself upon his unfaithful spouse, the dark cloud which had overcast the horizon

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of his mind had passed away, and, in the words of the song, "his sky became cloudless."

The next, in point of antiquity, is a very favourite *waiata aroha*—love song—composed by a young woman of the Ngatikahununui tribe. She had been betrothed by her parents to a young chief; but, as was very frequently the case, she had bestowed her affections upon another. She thus bewails her cruel lot:—

"The tears gush from mine eyes;
My eyelashes are wet with tears.
But stay, my tears, within,
Lest you be called mine.
Alas! I am betrothed.
It is for Te Maunu
That my love devours me.
But I must weep in vain,
Belovëd one, for thee;
Like Tinirau's lament
For his captive, Tutunui,
Who was slain by Ngae, alas!"

Some persons may be rather curious to know what Tinirau's pet was, and why the disconsolate maiden's grief was likened to his. The pet was nothing *less* than a whale! To explain the simile, it will be necessary to relate the tradition referred to. Tinirau was a great chief in the early times of heroes and demigods, celebrated for the beauty of his person and for his vanity. He had several pools filled with clear transparent water, and spent a considerable portion of each day in admiring his features as reflected therein. His temper, however, and the face of his mirrors were alike frequently ruffled by certain envious ladies, who felt a malicious pleasure in destroying the transparency of the water by casting mud into the pools. He also kept a stud of whales. His favourite was named Tutunui—very mischievous. One day a friend of his, Kae—not Ngae, as the song calls him,—who had been attending a feast given by Tinirau in honour of the birth, or naming, of one of his children, borrowed him for the purpose of returning home. After being cautioned to take great care of him, Kae mounted the marine charger, and was speedily borne homewards across the sea. Instead of dismounting in deep water, as he had promised to do, Kae ran the monster ashore, where it soon killed itself by floundering on the rocks. Kae's people cut it up and cooked it; the sea breeze wafted the odour to Tinirau, who exclaimed, "The fragrance of Tutunui is exhaling." This saying passed into a proverb, which is still frequently used by the hungry traveller, as he approaches a *pa* and scents the savoury fumes of the *umu* or Maori oven.

Apostrophes, or addresses to persons absent or dead, have been, in all ages, the language of passion, and are much used

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by the Maories; but the construction of their poetical compositions is so disjointed, and each succeeding idea so independent of the preceding one, that it is hardly possible to quote an entire *waiata* in which the composer has adhered strictly to his subject. One of the best specimens of this class is the *tangi*—lament—for Te Heuheu, who was overwhelmed by an avalanche of mud, which burst upon Te Rapa in the night, and buried the village with its sleeping inhabitants :—

"The rays of the evening are playfully glancing,
And illumine the peak of the lofty Tauwhara.
Say, is it my friend to his kindred returning?
Or must I still mourn him so suddenly fallen?
Thou wast snatchëd away from our midst in a moment;
But go, O thou great one, belov'd and revered.
Go, O thou champion, our chieftain and leader;
Go, O thou shelter from storm and from tempest.
How great was his pow'r who darëd destroy thee,
And whelmëd thy force 'neath earth's dreary bosom.
Mine eye oft recals thy beautiful features;
Thy *moko* imprinted by Matarau's chisel.
And the tribes thou hast left are mournful and timid;
Bereft of their leader, perplexëd and wildered.
The stars in the heavens are waning and scatter'd;
Tutahi and Rehua no more will appear;
While the star that presides o'er thee, Mangaroa,
Is tomb'd in the earth and extinguished for ever.
To the south Tongariro stands hoary and lonely;
And the crest of Te Arawa floats on the billow.
Thou first-born of Rangi, awake from thy slumber,
Rise up, as of yore, and flourish thy weapon;
Let the nations be told of thy valour and wisdom,
Thou rock that wast lash'd by the surges of ocean.
From the summit of greatness although thou hast fallen,
Yet the fame of thy actions is pealing like thunder,
And the name of our chieftain is raisëd to heaven."

A similar expression to that in which the Maori poet likens the death of Te Heuheu to the sudden disappearing of a star, is made use of by the prophet Isaiah when denouncing ruin against the proud king of Egypt :—

"And when I put thee out, I will cover the heavens,
And the stars thereof will I make dark."

Another example of this class is Tarawiri's address to her murdered parent :—

"Who can tell the anguish swelling
In this aching heart of mine,
For the man of valour fallen;—
Fall'n the man of mighty name,
Fall'n the kind indulgent parent;—
Fall'n the succour of my childhood.
Who, then, shall avenge thy death-blow;
Who revenge thee on thy foemen;
Save thy valiant younger brother,
In Tapeka's stronghold dwelling?
He shall summon mighty warriors
From Waikato's turgid waters
To the bounds of Maketu.

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These the people who obey'd thee,
Owned thy far extended sway;
Thy proud crest, O Tongariro,
Lies dishonour'd in the dust."

In common with most primitive nations, the New Zealanders attach much interest and importance to the last words uttered by a chief or relative prior to his decease, and many *tangi* have been composed on these occasions to convey to their friends a last intimation of their wishes and feelings, and at the same time express their regret at the absence of some beloved relative. In illustration of this very favourite class of *tangi*, may be given that composed by Te Uira, a chieftainess of high rank in the Taupo district, and recited with her last expiring breath :—

"The sunbeams are glancing athwart the blue sky,
And mildly the rays of the ev'ning are playing,
Like arrows of light, round dark Tauwhara;
Which hides from my view my first-born, my pride,
My Amo, I love as none other can love.
Seek not to console me, my kindred and friends,
But leave me alone to indulge in my sorrow;
Let me weep loud and long as my life will permit,
For soon I must close my aged eyes on the world;
Descend to the place where spirits are dwelling,
To join my belov'd, who is gone on before."

The world of spirits, or abode of the dead, has been a favourite topic in the poetical compositions of all nations from the earliest times; and, equally ignorant of the real state of the soul after its separation from the body, each has invented its own fabulous tales respecting the actions and pursuits of the spirit, suggested by the incidents of its natural or mortal life. In this way the Maories described the state of the civil community of their deceased friends, and anticipated, as in the lines just quoted, a joyful meeting in another world.

The following *tangi* was composed, under similar circumstances, by a young chief, to express his attachment to the wife of his youth, from whom he had been separated by his friends. Domestic quarrels, which are of frequent occurrence among the Maories, often result in the banishment of the weaker or offending party; and the singer's dying appeal to the better feelings of his mother on behalf of his wife is peculiarly touching :—

"Soft the north wind sweepeth onward,
Love upon its wings it beareth;
Drop my tears like flowing waters;
Weep I will not, but mine eyes shall
Rest upon the cloud approaching.
Whither, say, oh! whither com'st thou?
Com'st thou from my boyhood's love?
She who wrapped round, to warm me,
Garments of thy weaving, mother?
Let not wrath 'gainst her be kindled;—

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Tree was she of mine own planting,—
Sharer of my midnight slumbers,—
Warmth and love to me imparting,—
Prostrate now on earth reclining."

One more example of this class may be given. It was recited on her death bed by a young woman who was supposed to have incurred the wrath of the gods by trespassing on sacred ground, and punished by them with an incurable disease. It was addressed to her father, to whom she was much attached :—

"Sink, O thou sun, into thy cave descend,
Tinting the peak of Pukehinau with thy rays ;
I deem'd we should in company depart,
But I remain to lave me in the tide,
While the pale moon looks down upon my pain.
My limbs like fiery cinders glow,
Soon to be cooled by contact with the dust,
Or the red earth of Patumarama.
Farewell, belov'd! Fill up the bitter draught
Of woe, which nothing can avert.
Spirits of ill have leagued thy heart to grieve;
The axe is rais'd, and soon its falling weight,
Off from the parent stem a limb must lop.
Hark! yielding to the passing blast,
It groans and creaks, fit emblem of my fate.
Or like the flound'ring skate, transfixed
By the barbed spear, my life ebbs out.
Ah me! why should I heedlessly have strayed
On holy ground? Why rashly have I toyed
With objects sacred to the gods alone,—
Bringing destruction on myself, and grief on you?
Helpless I turn me on my dying bed,
Longing to meet thee, while my ardent love
Is borne toward thee on the summer breeze.
The tie which binds my youthful heart to earth
Soon will be sever'd. Haste to my embrace,
For with the waning moon my spirit must depart."

In the opening line of this *tangi*, a remarkable agreement will be found with the poetical ideas of classical nations. Maori fable speaks of the sun descending to a cave beneath the earth, after the toils of its daily course, and bathing in the life renewing waters of Waioratane; while the nations already alluded to believed that the sun retired to rest in the sea, spending the night in the indulgence of his passions. In the ninth Psalm this fiction is thus boldly expressed:—

"For he hath set a tabernacle for the sun,
Who cometh forth as a bridegroom from his chamber,
And rejoiceth as a strong man to run a race."

We learn from history that most nations, from the earliest times, have had recourse to poetry and song to incite the passions of men to the performance of feats of daring. It tells us how the Athenians were indebted to poetry for the recovery of Salamis, almost against their own wills and inclinations; defeat having so far disheartened them, that any allusion to a renewal

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of hostilities was deemed a grave offence. But such was the influence of a single song, that they flew to arms, attacked the enemy with irresistible ardour, and gained a decisive victory. Like cases have occurred in the annals of the Maori race, where oppressed and disheartened tribes have been so roused by the ironical and taunting songs of bereaved women, that they have attacked and routed their powerful, and hitherto victorious, enemies. A chief named Te Awarua, of the Taou tribe, had been bewitched by a priest of the powerful Waikatos; and so completely was the injured tribe overawed and intimidated, that they dared not attempt to avenge his death. Finding this to be the case, his daughter composed the following *puha*, which had the effect of so completely rousing their martial spirit, that they defeated their enemies, and recovered their long dormant courage:—

"O my people! O my people, weep!
O Te Tawa! O Te Tawa, weep!
Ye can do nought but bitterly weep,
When ye are attacked by spiritual foes.
Yes, cherish your wrath, nor let it be roused
By men far more base than Parukuri,
Who smote unawares a warrior unarm'd.
But as for me, I will not weep;
My tearful eyes shall be turn'd to watch
The cloud borne swiftly athwart the sky."

The expression "spiritual foes" refers to the agency of the evil spirits who are supposed to have been concerned in Te Awarua's death. The allusion to the approaching clouds was intended to convey an intimation of her intention of seeking the aid of some friendly tribe to avenge those wrongs which had failed to excite the passions of her timid relatives.

By far the most common and popular compositions are the *tangi*, which are used on almost every occasion of life, and are not always confined to animate objects of affection. They are frequently addressed, or have reference, to favourite weapons, lands, fields, and canoes. Of this latter class is Rangiwhakaurua's *tangi* for his land, which had been laid waste by the Ngatimaru. It is not, however, a matter of surprise, when we consider that the Maories are accustomed to speak of and regard their lands as their ancestors, from the fact of their having been in the possession of the family ever since their occupation of the country. The enemy had burned the forests of this chieftain, and so marred the face of the country that, as he informed his daughter in the words of the *tangi*, her ancestors had descended to Paerau. In the first line of the original, the words "po roa o Matiti" mean literally "the long night of Matiti," but as this is the star which is supposed to preside over summer, they have been rendered as follows:—

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"Here I sit through summer's long night,
My heart is beating for my belov'd:
Come near me, my daughter, and sit by my side;
How restless art thou when I nurse thee.
Obstruct not my vision while gazing inland
At th' approaching canoe, and cloud drawing near;
Whose edge, as it rises, approaches Haumapu.
Thy ancestors liv'd and descended to me,
But they are driven downwards to Paerau.
O Toko, and kindred, come near unto me;
I am smitten with disease from afar.
I must haste to hew down
The thicket of spears at Tahoraparoa;
That my spirit may be sooth'd,
Which is excited for my land."

In the words "they are driven downwards to Paerau," allusion is made to one of the chambers or compartments of Hades; and we find that such an expression is not inconsistent with even the sacred poetry of the Hebrews, who supposed that not only souls, but even trees and kingdoms, as in the case before us, descended to the infernal regions. The prophet Ezekiel, speaking of the decline of the kingdom of Assyria, writes:—

"When I cast him down to hell,
With them that descend into the pit,
All the trees of Eden,
The choice and best of Lebanon;
All that drink water shall be comforted
In the nether parts of the earth.
To whom art thou thus like in glory,
And in greatness among the trees of Eden?
Yet thou shalt be brought down with the trees of Eden
Into the nethermost parts of the earth."

The next example of this class is Te Ngahuru's *tangi* for his canoe:—

"I weep, when shades of evening close,
The wreck of what is far from me.
Whose squadron sweeps so slowly by?
'Tis thine, O earth-refreshing mist.
Turn each swift prow towards the shore
Where Maketu repels the main.
Here clinging to the tide-worn rock,
We hold the batter'd hull alone
Of that canoe, to deck whose side
We stripp'd the gannet's downy breast;
That men might gaze admiringly
When, sailing on our northward cruise,
We touch'd at far-famed Hauraki,
And caused each chief of Timaru
With longing eyes to covet her;
But split and useless now she lies,
A wreck on sea-girt Maukaha."

Laments or *tangi* for absent friends are very common, and many of them are exceedingly beautiful. None of these is more popular than Tuirangi's *tangi* for her husband:—

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"Dark the louring clouds are rolling
Round thy summit, Pukehina;
O'er the path where my belovëd
Pass'd for ever from my sight.
Turn, oh! turn once more towards me,
That the love-stream may be pourëd
From these welling, dimned eyelids,
Tribute to our long affection.
Thine the loving arms that claspëd
Me, unworthy, to thy bosom;
Hence my throbbing heart, responsive,
Twin'd its clasping tendrils round thee."

Another specimen of this kind of *tangi* is interesting from the fact of its composer having been a young woman, who was given by her father to a young chief, in return for a musket with which the latter had presented him, and which was the first introduced into the upper Waikato district. It also refers to the practice of separation by water, which was resorted to by sorrowing wives to sever or terminate the grief they experienced during the absence of their lords:—

"Calm, clear, and breathless was the sky,
When rowed, in wild and martial state,
Thy squadron, Kiri, on the placid lake.
Mine eyes behold the sunbeams flash,
Fitful, upon thy musket butt;
Thine, Hiwa, fam'd for val'rous deeds.
Yet think not, Mihi, that I 'll weep,
Like captive for his distant home,
Lone and dejected in my house;
For I will to the priest repair,
That sacred rite and potent charm
May sever with resistless power
The love that binds my aching heart,
And falls in tear-drops to the ground."

The rite or ceremony of separation or severing the tie of affection was performed in the following manner:—The priest, accompanied by the person afflicted with inconsolable grief, went down to a running stream, taking some red ochre and oil in his hand. He then carefully mixed the oil and ochre with water; with these he damped the eyes and breast of his patient, repeating a *karakia*—prayer—with each act. He then caused the person to stand on hillocks which had been piled up with his hands, and smiting the water with his staff, repeated the *karakia* of separation. A somewhat similar custom existed among the Slavi, who, however, appear to have resorted to a less fallible remedy. When compelled to leave their mistresses, they not unfrequently gave them this advice:—

"Weep not, weep not, oh sweet maid;
Choose, O choose, another lover!
Is he better, thou 'lt forget me;
Is he worse, thou 'lt think of me;
Think of me, sweet soul, and weep."

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It is but fair, however, to say that all Maori ladies are not of the same way of thinking, and the following *waiata* may go to prove that even among them instances of "devotion" and "undying affection" are not wanting :—

"When the night hath closëd round me,
And I lay me down to slumber,
Throwing out my arms to grasp thee,
Nought is claspëd but thy spirit.
Yet I fancy that I hold thee,
In thy human form and likeness.
How my thoughts dwell ever on thee,
And my heart with grief oppressed.
Now for thee I'll weep no longer,
But my prayers shall be addressed
Unto Rakahua, Kiriki,
Who preside o'er death and Hades,
That thou mayest be restored me."

It is commonly believed by the Maoris that the mind or spiritual part of man wanders during his sleep, leaving the body in a state of torpor, and that dreams are but the incidents which befall the spirit in its wanderings. Frequent allusion is made to this superstition in their *tangi* for absent friends :—

"Standing in the doorway, lonely,
Like an ample feast of dainties
Are the tears which dim my vision,—
Welling from the briny fountain,
Love distilling for the absent,
In the southern districts roaming.
When my twining arms were loosëd,
And the last embrace was given,
Thy retiring steps were echoed
By affection's bootless wailings.
When the tide of evening closed,
And I laid me down to slumber,
Thy lov'd spirit seem'd to hover,
Guardian like, about my pillow;
Not an evanescent image,
But of human form, and life-like;
And I dream'd my absent husband
In my loving arms lay claspëd.
But thou wert not husband only,
Dearer to me than my mother;
Thou wert love's first budding fancy,
Ere it ripened into substance."

The following *tangi* was addressed by a woman to her husband, who had left his home on a war expedition. That there is some truth in the saying of Byron, "Absence makes the heart grow fonder," the experience of Maori dames, as expressed in the last lines, seems to prove :—

"My sight is dimmed, my eyeballs strain'd,
With gazing toward the ranges,—
The hills of Whakapaumahara.

Would that I were a blithesome bird,
Gifted with wings, that I might fly
And light beside my absent lover.

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My heart, extracted, ne'er return'd,
But hovers o'er thee like a cloud
Floating upon the summer breeze.

Bereft of thee, my tears fall fast,
For though we sometimes quarrelled,
Now thou art gone, I love thee dearly."

Suicide was, prior to the introduction of Christianity, of frequent occurrence among the Maoris; and a dirge, in which special reference was made to the cause which led to the commission of the rash act, was generally composed for the occasion. The following was composed by a young woman who, in a paroxysm of rage and grief, occasioned by finding that her affection was not reciprocated by the person she loved, cast herself down from a lofty precipice. Ere she took the fatal leap she sung this dirge:—

"Thou sun, fast sinking to thy rest,
Delay thy progress and await my coming.
Why lingers yet the fatal stroke,
That I may soon be hurried hence,
Far from the world in which I dwell.
How scorns my heart the prating lip,
That cannot keep my secret safe!
For I am lovelier, fairer far,
Than Parihi, of southern fame;
Nor have I gazed with envious eye
On Tahetahe's lovely features;
Or beauteous Pokai, she whose fame
Soars like Whahaari's sulph'rous cloud.
Moetara in his southern home
Receives the rumours as they fly.
But thus I snap the cord of life,—
Thus close mine eyes upon the world,—
Thus launch into the deep abyss."

The *puha* is a peculiar style of composition; short, spirited, and pronounced with a vehement tone and gesture which is commonly used by the Maories at public meetings to express a general feeling of unity and decision. As, for instance, when two contending parties have made peace, they join in singing the *puha* in token of amity. The following was sung with great effect by several hundred persons at the signing of the Whanganui Deed. Under the figure of the sea, reference is made to the irresistible tide of European population which was then setting in upon their shores:—

"Thy heart, McLean, is light and gladsome;
Ours with painful thoughts opprest.
Every ear is turn'd to listen
To the roaring of the tide,
Dashing into chine and cavern,—
Whelming all things in its fury."

The humorous songs of the Maoris are very numerous: many of them contain much wit and attain great popularity, but they are for the most part unintelligible to and inappre-

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ciable by foreigners. One of the latest and by far the most popular during the last year is based upon the following story, which was pretty generally believed to be true. A Maori sailor, on his return from England, informed his friends that an English sailor named Haki—Jacky—was possessed of such enormous wealth that the Queen of England fell desperately in love with him. She tried long and in vain to persuade Haki to marry her; but finding him inexorable, in a fit of mingled rage, disappointment, and jealousy she climbed to the top of the mast of one of her largest frigates, sung the following words, and cast herself headlong into the sea, uttering the last exclamation as the waters closed around her :—

"Wherefore, O Jacky, should I repine
For the gold that maketh all things
White, and clears all filth away.
Wait, O Jacky, let me weep,
Though perplexed by many evils,
For the cloud uprising yonder,—
Image 'tis of my lov'd father.
Now I climb the topmost height
Of the tall and slender mast,
Whence to cast myself down headlong,
That I may be '*dinner's ready!*'
For the fishes of the ocean.—
Hallo!"

IV.—*Some Observations on the Tegumentary Differences which exist among the Races of Man.* By ROBERT DUNN, F.R.C.S., F.E.S., etc.

IN a former communication to this Society—"On the varying forms of the Human Cranium, viewed in connexion with the outward circumstances, social state, and intellectual condition of man"*—I avowed the conviction that, to my mind, the evidence is irresistible, which is furnished by anatomy, physiology, and psychology, that the *genus* HOMO *is one;* and, taking the three typical forms of the skull, the prognathous, pyramidal, and oval, I adduced some direct historical evidence in proof of the fact of the conversion of one type into that of another, under the varying influence of outward circumstances and civilized states.

On the present occasion, and in support of the same conviction, I beg to solicit your attention to some observations on the tegumentary differences which exist among the races of man, but from which it has been attempted to draw a very opposite conclusion, and to establish the position that these tegumentary

* Published in the Journal of the Ethnological Society, vol. iv, p. 33.

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differences may be adduced to prove that the varieties in the races of the great family of man are not derived from one and the same species, but from distinct original stocks. I need scarcely say, that the colour of the skin and the character of the hair are the points at issue. It was long supposed that there existed in the tegumental covering of the Ethiopians a specific structure—the *rete mucosum*—which was the source of their blackness, and that this structure was wanting in the fair skinned races of man. Not many years ago even so great and eminent a physiologist as M. Flourens, in France, was led to believe that he had discovered, in the rete mucosum, such structural peculiarities or differences among the fair skinned, the red, and the black races of man, as to warrant the conclusion that they were so many distinct original species. But the revelations of the microscope on this, as on some other disputed points in physiology, have dispelled all the obscurity and doubt in which the subject was enveloped. They have clearly shown, beyond controversy, "that there exists no distinct colouring layer, as a peculiar specific structure, either in the fair or dark skinned races; that the rete mucosum is nothing more or less than the latest formed layer of the epidermis, the inner surface of which is continually being renewed as the exterior is worn away;" and that the peculiar hue of the dark skinned races unquestionably depends upon the presence of colouring matter in the pigmental cells of the epidermis itself, —thus and at once demolishing both the hypothesis of Flourens and his conclusions.

But it may be well for us here to pause for a moment, and to consider more minutely, under the light which microscopic investigation has thrown upon the subject, the structure of our tegumentary covering—the skin. Under the impression that all who are present may not be familiar with the subject, I need offer no apology for the adoption of the course I am pursuing, nor for the following details, with which every physiological inquirer is so well acquainted.

The common integument, or investing membrane of the body, consists essentially of two distinct layers or structures. An inner one, the corion, cutis, or true skin; and an outer, the epidermis, cuticle, or scarf skin. Interposed between these, and closely investing the cutis, a third is described as "a basement tissue composed of simple membrane, uninterrupted, homogeneous, and transparent, covered by an *epithelium*, or pavement, of nucleated particles."

The true skin is a sentient and vascular structure, for it is the seat of the sense of touch; whilst the cuticle, forming its protective covering over the entire superficies of the body, is

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insensible and non-vascular. The cutis consists of a fibro-vascular layer, made up of white and yellow fibrous tissue, and of bloodvessels, lymphatics, and nerves. It is chiefly composed of white fibrous tissue, arranged in a reticular manner, the texture becoming very fine and close near the upper surfaces, but more open and loose below, where its larger meshes become filled with clumps of fat cells, and where it passes without any distinct line of demarcation into the sub-cutaneous tissue.

The epidermis or cuticle, the outer layer of our common integument, affording a protective covering to the cutis vera, consists of a series of flattened scale-like cells, agglutinated together in many irregular layers. When these cells are first formed they are spheroidal, and contain nuclei, with soft and moist contents, but in consequence of successive formations beneath them, they are pushed upwards, and in their progress become flattened into irregular scales, lose their nuclei, and are ultimately thrown off, in desquamation, from the surface of the body. And thus between the inner and the outer layers of the epidermis there is a marked difference; for while the deeper seated distinctly present a cellular character, the external layers are scaly. It is a matter of no difficulty to divide the cuticle in two, three, or more laminæ, or, at a certain degree of maceration, to separate the harder from the softer layers, and thus to isolate the structure termed the rete mucosum, which in reality is nothing more than the deepest and most recently formed portion of the epidermis.

Though formerly supposed to be a distinct structure, microscopic investigation has clearly demonstrated the stratum Malpighi to be only the most recently formed portion of the epidermis, whose cells are not yet consolidated by the formation of horny matter in their interior. Many of these deep cells secrete colouring matter, and are hence termed *pigmental cells*. The colour of the skin unquestionably depends upon the presence of these pigmental cells, and the particular tint of the pigment which they secrete. Pigmental cells may, and occasionally do, occur partially, under varying circumstances, among the white races of man; and sometimes among the coloured races they are found wanting, so that the fair skin of the European may present itself in the offspring of the red man or the negro.

Dr. Hutchison, in the *American Journal of Medical Science* for January, 1852, relates a very curious example of change of colour in a negro, on unquestionable authority. "The subject, a negro slave in Kentucky, aged forty-five years, was born of black parents, and was himself perfectly black until twelve years of age. At that time a portion of the skin, an inch wide,

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encircling the cranium just within the edge of the hair, gradually changed to white; also the hair occupying that locality. A white spot next appeared near the inner cavities of the left eye; and from this the white colour gradually extended over the face, trunk, and extremities, until it covered the entire surface. The complete change from black to white occupied about ten years; and, but for his hair, which was crisp or woolly, no one would have supposed at this time that his progenitors had offered any of the characteristics of the negro, his skin presenting the healthy vascular appearance of that of a fair complexioned European. When he was about twenty-two years of age, however, dark copper-coloured or brown spots began to appear on the face and hands; but these have remained limited to the portions of the surface exposed to light. About the time the black colour of the skin began to disappear, he completely lost his sense of smell; and since he has become white, he has had measles and hooping-cough a second time."—Dr. Carpenter's *Human Physiology*.

While upon this part of our subject, it may be as well to advert to that appendage of our tegumentary covering, the hair, the character of which has been invested with such undue importance, as to be made the test or criterion of a specific difference in the races of man. The African nations have been emphatically and collectively called woolly haired; but here again the revelations of the microscope have clearly demonstrated that the hair of the negro is not wool, and that in its intimate and essential structure, its sole difference from that of our own consists in having a greater abundance of pigmentary matter contained in its interior. Even in this country and among ourselves, it is no uncommon thing for persons of jet black hair, but of whom the bare idea of the slightest admixture of negro blood cannot for a moment be entertained, to have not only the peculiarity of a greater quantity of colouring matter, but sometimes also to present the African characteristic—hair so crisp and so frizzled as almost to deserve the epithet of woolly. Now the characteristic differences in the structure of the hair and that of wool, as revealed by the microscope, have been admirably pointed out by our great ethnologist, Dr. Prichard.

The hair, like the epidermis, is a beautifully organized structure, and maintains a vital, though not a vascular connexion with the body; for, under the sudden influence of a depressing passion, the whole of the hair of the head has been known to turn grey or of a silvery whiteness in the course of a single night. A hair consists of the bulb or root, the shaft or stem, and the point. In it we distinguish two elementary parts, a cortical or investing substance, of a fibrous horny texture, and

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a medullary, or pith-like substance, occupying the interior. The hair expands at the base of the shaft into a bulbous enlargement, and this is lodged within a follicle formed by a depression of the cutis, and lined with a continuation of the epidermis. The whole tissue of the hair is derived from epidermic cells developed at the base of the follicle, which is itself extremely vascular. When the surface of the hair is examined by the microscope, it is seen to be covered with a coating of finely imbricated and flattened cells or scales, their edges forming delicate lines upon the surface of the hair, which are sometimes transverse, sometimes oblique, and sometimes apparently spiral. Within the scaly covering is the fibrous substance, which is translucent, with short longitudinal opaque streaks of darker colour intermixed; it is made up of straight, rigid, longitudinal fibres, and these, when separated, are found to be flattened, broad in the middle, and pointed at each end, with dark and rough edges. Professor Kölliker has shown that the colour of this portion of the hair is due not only to the presence of pigmental granules, either collected into patches, or diffused throughout its substance, but also to the existence of a multitude of *lacunulæ* containing air, which cause it to appear *dark*, by transmitted, and *white*, by reflected light.

The medullary portion occupies the centre or canal of the stem, and ceases towards the point. It is altogether wanting in the fine hair scattered on the general surface of the body.

Now wool, when examined under the microscope, exhibits filaments twisted and matted in all directions,—the shafts of the filaments not keeping a uniform calibre, but are thickened here and there, and often swelled with the appearance of knots. "The fibre of Merino wool," says Dr. Prichard, "assumes a ribbandlike form with *serrated* edges. When the fibre is viewed as an opaque object, the serrations are found to result from a structure resembling a series of inverted cones, encircling a central stem, the apex of the cone being received into the base of the superior one; each cup-like cone having indented edges directed from root to point. But hair, on the contrary, although covered with scales or rugosities, has no serrations or tooth-like projections."

To Mr. Youatt belongs the honour of discovering that the *felting* property of wool is dependant upon the *serrated character* of its fibre, and of pointing out that this *serrated character* constitutes the peculiar and diagnostic distinction between wool and hair.

"I have seen and examined," says Dr. Prichard, "the filaments of hair belonging to different races of men, and compared them with the filaments of wool. Hairs of a negro, of a mulatto,

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of Europeans and of some Abyssinians, were, together with the wool of a South-down sheep, viewed both as transparent and opaque bodies. The filament of wool had a very rough and irregular surface, though no serrations, distinctly so termed, were perceptible. The hair of the negro, which was extremely unlike that of wool, and of all the other varieties mentioned, had the appearance of a cylinder with smooth surface; they all appeared, more or less, filled with dark colouring matter, which, however, did not entirely destroy their transparency. The Abyssinian hair was very dark, but so far diaphanous, that a ribbandlike band appeared running down through the middle of a cylindrical tube; and the mulatto hair resembled the Abyssinian in this respect. The filament of European hair seemed almost entirely transparent; it had the appearance of an empty tube, coated internally with something of a dingy or dusky colour, which only prevented it from being quite pellucid. The negro has *hair* properly so termed, and not *wool*. One difference between the hair of the negro and that of an European is, that the former is more curled and frizzled, and another difference is the greater quantity of colouring matter or pigment in the hair of the negro; and it is very probable that this quality is connected with the former, and is its cause, though we cannot determine in what manner the one depends upon the other."*

According to Vauquelin, the colour of the hair depends on the presence of a peculiar oil in the pigmental cells, which is of a sepia tint in dark hair, blood red in red hair, and yellowish in fair hair.

We may now proceed from the colour of the hair to the consideration of that of the skin; and of the influence of light and warmth in generating colouring matter in the pigmentary cells of the epidermis, we have a familiar illustration in the tanning of the face and the summer freckles from exposure to the rays of the sun. Many and various, we all know, are the expedients adopted by the fair portion of the creation, during a summer's sojourn, under a scourging sun, at the sea side, to guard against the production of such effects from the solar rays.

But, independently of the influence of light and heat, and from morbid or other causes within the body itself, it is no uncommon thing to meet with coloured portions of the skin, and of this we see a daily instance in the colour of the areola of the nipples of the breast during the period of pregnancy.

It is, however, a matter of common observation, and not without significance, that fair skins, from exposure to the sun's

* Prichard's "Natural History of Man", p. 101.

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rays, assume a reddish brown tinge; whilst others, amongst whom there previously existed any shade of a dark or swarthy tinge, become of a still more swarthy hue.

Now the remark is significant, inasmuch as we clearly perceive the influence of light and warmth is modified by the complexion of the individual; but then it is not to be forgotten that the complexion itself is sensibly liable to variation within the limits of families, and, as a matter of course, far more so of races. On this point, I need only appeal to common observation,—How often, in the same family, among children of the same parents, do we not see one a *blonde* and another a *brunette*.

But before entering more fully into the consideration of the influence of physical causes—of climate and geographical position—in modifying the colour of the tegumentary covering, I would, and as briefly as possible, advert to the varieties of hue and complexion which are found to prevail among the typical races, so that we may be enabled to form a better and a truer estimate of the value of the colour of the skin, as a characteristic test or criterion of the type of the race with which it may happen to be associated.

And, first, let us advert to the highest—the Caucasian race, with which we are accustomed to associate a fair skin and a ruddy complexion. A brief survey will be sufficient to satisfy us that among the Syro-Arabian and Indo-European nations—the two great groups into which this race is divided—there exists every variety of hue and complexion. To the Syro-Arabian group belongs the Hebrew nation, which has spread itself nearly over the whole habitable globe. Now, while the Jews are still generally recognisable by certain peculiarities of physiognomy, we find among them, in this great metropolis, great variety of complexion. In this country generally, "blue eyes and flaxen hair are not uncommon, but a light brunette hue, with black hair, is most common. In Germany and Poland the ordinary complexion is more florid, with blue eyes and red hair. On the other hand, the Jews of Portugal are very dark, whilst those who have been settled from very remote times in Cochin and the interior of Malabar, are so black as not to be distinguishable by their complexion from the native inhabitants. Now, in the face of these facts, how can we avoid the conviction that the complexion of the Jews tends to assimilate itself to that of any nation in which their residence has been sufficiently prolonged? It is a curious circumstance, that there is at Mattacheri, a town of Cochin, a particular colony of Jews, which arrived, at a comparatively late date, in that country, and which are called Jerusalem or white Jews."

Again, in the Indo-European group of nations, we have most

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striking examples in the variation of the colour of the skin; for the complexion of the Hindoo does not less differ from that of a Scandinavian than does that of the Negro; there exists every shade of gradation interposed between the fair hair and blue eyes of the inhabitant of Northern Europe and the jet black of the dweller in the plains of India. Among the Hindoo nation alone, we meet with the most marked diversities of complexion; some are black as negroes, some are of a copper colour, others little darker than the inhabitants of Southern Europe, and others have actually fair complexions, with blue eyes and auburn or even red hair. "These diversities," it has been justly observed, "appear to be connected with two sets of conditions as their operating causes. The first place must be assigned to the marked differences of climate which prevail betwixt the mountainous elevations of Kashmir, or Kafiristan, and the low plains bordering the great rivers in India. But the distinction of castes is scarcely of secondary consequence, since it perpetuates the same mode of life in particular families from generation to generation, and also tends to render permanent any variety that may spontaneously spring up and restrain it with the limits of the caste in which it occurs. The high caste people of the northern and more elevated parts of India are remarkable for the fairness of their complexions; while the Affghans, descended from the Median stock, and speaking a dialect derived from the ancient Zend, contain within their passes every variety of complexion, from that of the dark Indian to that of the fair European." In fine, it may be truly said of the Caucasian race, whatever we may assume to be its typical complexion, that that type is subject to every kind and degree of modification.

2ndly. Among the Mongolian nations we meet with a like variety of complexions. It must be admitted, that a certain admixture of a yellow hue is one of their most constant characters, but even this is found to entirely disappear.

Lieutenant-General Briggs, to whom we are so much indebted for the valuable papers which he read before this Society on the Aboriginal Tribes of India, and who has had printed (published?) two lectures which he delivered before the Royal Asiatic Society, has fully established the fact that the aborigines of India are of Scythian origin—Mongolian,—while the Hindoos, of the Caucasian race, came from an opposite direction. The General rejoices in finding that Mr. Hodgson, the late president at Nipal, while labouring on the spot among the Himalaya mountains, has arrived at the same conclusions as himself.

"It is to me," he says, "a source of singular gratification

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that my views should so entirely coincide with those of a philosopher who has devoted so much of his life to researches of this nature. He is of opinion that there is an identity both in physiognomy and philology of the several aboriginal races of India which, while it stamps them of one stock, distinguishes them from the Arian race. He declares his conviction that all the aborigines of India are north men of the Scythic stem, but he hesitates to pronounce positively from which of the three great branches they are derived. His opinion, however, inclines him to think that all those who are found on the east of the river Dhansri, in Assam, belong to the Chinese; while those on the west, which include all I have described, belong to the Thibetan branch. Of these he speaks decidedly. The aborigines of India are all of the Tamilian family; they are, says he, now for the most part British subjects. They are counted by millions, extending from the snows to the Cape (Comarin). Yes, in every hilly or jungly tract there exist hundreds of thousands of human beings not materially different from the Germans, as described by Tacitus. These primitive races are ancient heritors of the whole soil, from all the rich and open parts of which they were driven by the usurping Hindoos."*

Now among these aborigines of India, the northern Asiatics, and still existing in the hilly regions of the north, in the Deccan, and especially in Ceylon, there is found considerable variety of complexion even within the limits of the same nation. "The Cingalese," says Dr. Davy, "vary in colour from light brown to black; the prevalent hue of their hair and eyes is black, but hazel eyes and brown hair are not uncommon; grey eyes and red hair are occasionally seen, though rarely; and sometimes the light blue or red eye, and light flaxen hair, of the Albino." Dr. Davy, in describing such a one, remarks, that "her complexion would scarcely be considered peculiar in England, certainly not in Norway, for her eyes were light blue, not particularly weak, her hair of the colour that usually accompanies such eyes, and her complexion rather rosy. It is easy to conceive," he adds, "that an accidental variety of this kind might propagate, and that the white race of mankind may have sprung from such an accidental variety. The Indians are of this opinion; and there is a tradition or story among them in which this origin is assigned to us." This tendency towards a fair and even florid complexion, with light blue eyes and bushy hair, can be traced in several other nations of the same type, such as the Mantchoos in China,

* Vide "Two Lectures on the Aboriginal Races of India, as distinguished from the Sanscretic or Hindu Race." By Lieut.-Gen. Briggs. Delivered before the Royal Asiatic Society, May 8th, and June 15th, 1852.

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and also among the Chinese themselves. On the other hand, the hardy Samoiedes, Tungasians, and others living on the borders of the Icy Sea, have a dirty brown or swarthy complexion. A scantiness of hair is generally found in the Mongolian type, but there are affiliated tribes whose hair and beards are long and bushy.

In my former communication on the varying forms of the cranium, I adduced, in illustration, the case of the Magyars —the nobility of Hungary,—a handsome people, of fine stature, of European features and complexions, and inferior to none in their physical and mental endowments; and yet there is both historical and philological evidence to prove that they are a branch of the great northern Asiatic stock, and closely allied in blood to the stupid and feeble Ostïaks and the untamable Laplanders, of a dirty brown and swarthy hue. Again, if the views of Mr. Norris be confirmed, they point to the fair Circassian and Georgian nations as being but an improved race of the Mongolian type.

3rdly. Among the Ethiopian or African nations, it has been said, no variety in the colour of the skin exists, blackness, with a reddish or yellowish tinge, being universal; but the remark is founded on ignorance. There does exist great diversity of complexion among the African races. We see in the Kafir tribes high foreheads, prominent noses, a light brown complexion, and red hair; and is the origin of the Kafir different or distinct from that of the Negro, with whom he is connected by varying degrees of affinity? The Fúlahs of central Africa are of a dark copper colour, while the Hottentots of the Cape have a large admixture of yellow. But the widest departure from the blackness of the Negro is found among the African nations who border on the Red Sea. According to M. d'Abbadie, they exhibit specialities on the one hand which approximate closely to the Negro type, while in other respects, particularly in the hue of their skin, the severance is complete; so that they evidently constitute a series of links between the Negro and the ancient Egyptian race. And here, as elsewhere, the lightest complexions and a superior physical conformation characterise the inhabitants of the highlands, whilst the dwellers on the low plains beneath the same latitudes approach nearer to the true Negroes of their neighbourhood, not merely in the blackness of their skin, but in the thickness of their lips, the flatness of their noses, and crispness of their hair. I need not remind you that the researches of Dr. Pritchard lead to the conclusion that the ancient Egyptians were so closely allied to the Negro race that the origin of both was probably the same, and that the complexion of the ancient Egyptians, as repre-

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sented by their own artists, seems to have been of a red copper or light chocolate colour, and to have resembled the present complexion of the reddest of the Fúlahs and Kafirs. But instances enough, I hope, have been adduced to show that the complexion and colour of the skin is no such definite and characteristic distinction as to sever the Negro races from other branches of the family of man.

And to me it only seems necessary to take a very cursory glance at the Oceanic races—the Malayo-Polynesian—to be perfectly satisfied how futile is the attempt, where the diversities are so great and so numerous, to make the colour of the skin and the character of the hair criteria by which to distinguish these races from the other typical stocks.

And, lastly, of the American races the epithet "red men" is by no means characteristic. Some of the American Indians are copper coloured, some as fair as any Europeans, others are of a brown or yellow complexion, and others nearly, if not quite, as black as the Negroes of Africa.

After the cursory survey which I have taken, we may now return, and, I hope, better prepared, to the consideration of the operating physical causes, which exert a modifying influence upon the colour of the skin. Among the first, and by far the most important, are climate and geographical position; for it may be asserted without the fear of contradiction, that it is only in the intertropical regions, and in the countries bordering upon them, that we meet with the greatest depth of colour in the skin. All the nations inhabiting those regions exhibit a tendency to complete blackness, though it must be admitted, such a tendency, by other circumstances, may be kept in check. Next to geographical position, elevation above the sea level, and the degree of humidity in the air, are generally allowed to be the two physical conditions which exert the greatest modifying influence upon the colour of the skin. Sir R. Schomburgk and M. D'Orbigny lay great stress on the influence of the latter, humidity—and, by each, as the result of personal and independent observation on the inhabitants of the new world, it is remarked, that people who live under the damp shade of dense and lofty forests, are comparatively fair; whilst those exposed to solar heat on dry and open spaces, are of a much deeper hue. Again, it is a matter of common observation, that elevation has the same effect upon the human complexion which it has upon the growth of plants, and that the inhabitants of mountainous districts are fairer than those on the plains at their base.

It must be admitted, as I have already observed, that the influence of light and warmth are at first modified by the original

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complexion of the individual, but I think that direct historical evidence abundantly proves, that a continued exposure for a sufficiently lengthened period of time, leads to one uniform result. To quote from a writer, to whom I am greatly indebted, "We have seen," says he, "that the Arab, living in the country of the negro, becomes of negro blackness; that the negro, dwelling on the banks of the Nile, presents the dark red tinge of the ancient Egyptian; that the Jew, transplanted into the northern regions of Europe, has the original swarthy complexion of his race replaced by a fair hair, and even a florid hue, whilst another offset of the same stock rivals in blackness the Hindoos among whom he dwells; that the Hindoo, when he migrates to the high lands of the Himalaya range, becomes, in process of time, as fair as the Europeans, who have come thither from the far north; that the natives proved by the affinities of language to be the descendants of the great Arian stock, which has dispersed itself through every variety of climate, admit of every variety of colour; and that equal and similar varieties of colour abound among the members of other groups of nations, as among the American and Polynesian, whose geographical distribution and linguistic affinities afford a strong presumption of a common origin. We cannot conceive that any candid person can weigh this mass of evidence without coming to the conclusion, that the most extreme differences of complexion are unsafe indications of an original distinctness of race, and that these differences owe their origin far more to the prolonged influence of external physical conditions, than to any other assignable cause."*

On the other hand, those ethnologists who maintain the doctrine of originally distinct types, are driven to the necessity of admitting not three or five merely, but twenty or upwards; there seems to be no limit to the number, for it must increase, as our knowledge extends, and we are continually hearing of tribes with whose physical characters we are little acquainted. But even admitting the theory of distinct stocks, we should expect, as a necessary consequence, that each race should be characterised by fixed and definite distinctions, common to all its sub-divisions; but, on the contrary, do we not actually find these characters becoming softened down, and all verging to one common type?

To conclude, does not the survey which we have taken force upon our minds the conviction, that the colour of the skin, and the character of the hair, are absolutely valueless as distinctive characteristics of race?

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* Edinburgh Review, vol. lxxxviii, p. 458.

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The more closely and carefully we study the typical races, and the effects of climate and position on their geographical distribution, the more we are constrained to admit that tegumentary differences present to us no impassable barrier against the conclusion, that all the existing varieties of the great family of man are derived and descended from a single stock. On the contrary, does not the conviction become irresistible for the unity of the human species, when we look around us in this great metropolis, and behold, amid the "chosen people," the Hebrew nation, the descents of Abraham, every variety of complexion, from the fair-haired, rosy and ruddy faced Englishman, to the crisp and frizzley-haired, and dark and dusky countenance of the swarthy Negro.

V.—*A Short Notice of the People of Oude and of their Leading Characteristics.* By H. M. GREENHOW.

THAT portion of our Indian possessions known as the province of Oude, and lying between the Nepaul hills on the one hand and the river Ganges on the other, has become, within the last two or three years, so celebrated, that I have thought a few notes on its people might be interesting. This population may be divided into two great classes,—Hindoos and Mussulmans. Of the former, the great mass of the country population is composed; of the latter, there is, or was, a great number in the capital, Lucknow. The kings were Mahommedan; so also were the court and many of the great nobles. So that there was a Mussulman ruler on the throne of a country essentially Hindoo; just as in Belgium, there is a Protestant king reigning over a people essentially Catholic.

The Hindoos of Oude may be considered as of double origin; those indigenous to the country, and those who have immigrated to it from other parts of India.

The Hindoos proper of Oude are divided into a number of castes, each caste for the most part having its own occupation. Thus there are weavers, goldsmiths, dyers, coolies, bunneahs or shop-keepers, and others. The people, however, are generally an agricultural people. Each man tills his land as his ancestors tilled it before him, using the same plough and the same modes of irrigation as were employed centuries ago. Generally speaking, of middle or even small stature and slight make,—owing partly to the early age at which they commence to labour in the fields, partly to their natural conformation,—

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these agriculturists are a contented people, not caring much what sort of government they are under, provided they be only allowed to cultivate their lands and gather in their crops, and satisfied even to pay a moderate tribute to those—whoever they may be,—that are set over them as governors. Curious as it may appear, I yet believe it to be true, that *contentment* is the leading characteristic of the Oude peasantry. Leave them their roof-tree, their homes, and their lands, and subject them only to a moderate taxation, and you will find them a patient and contented people. Their country has for so many years been a scene of warfare, that they have become accustomed to misfortune, and their senses have, as it were, been dulled by it. As an instance of this, it may be mentioned, that during the siege of Lucknow, we often, through our glasses, could discern the peasants tilling their ground within easy reach of the shot and shell which were hissing through the air. They were apparently unaware,—or if aware, were totally regardless,—of the deadly struggle being carried on almost within a stone's-throw of them.

Frugality is another of the characteristics of this people. Generally poor,—for what class, even in India, has been so ground down as they?—economy is a necessity to them, and they practise it most rigidly. Their love of money is exhibited under the most trying circumstances. Thus, during our occupation of the Alum Bagh under General Outram, when there was but a force of 3000 men to hold their ground against an army of 50,000, stationed at less than a mile's distance, by a little tact, the natives of the surrounding country were induced to bring in provisions and necessaries and to establish a market, even though they had to pass the close neighbourhood of the rebel camp, and to return each night to their villages, where, of course, they were exposed to the full force of the enemy's influence. Every morning hundreds of men might be seen streaming in long lines into our camp, coming to work on the roads, or bringing goats and eggs and milk and vegetables with them for sale; because they knew that by us they would be well paid for their trouble, and were therefore willing to risk the danger which they certainly ran of being cut up by the enemy.

The reverence for the Brahminical caste is a noticeable feature in the people of Oude. The Brahmins, as is well known, are the sect of priests, who in Oude, as in India generally, are looked up to and reverenced as a superior class; but except to mention the fact of their existence and power in the country, it would be beyond the limits of this paper to go.

The sepoys of the late Bengal army demand a short notice here. Drawn principally from respectable agricultural families

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in Oude, they were often the younger sons of such families. Fine, tall, athletic men, with handsome features, and generally well-knit frames, they were the very flower of the youth of Oude. Fond of their homes, and having occasional furlough—even if serving in the distant stations of the Bombay presidency, or in Burmah,—for the purpose of visiting them; enjoying sufficient pay, and the prospect of pension after faithful service; having, too, certain privileges of their own, more especially at the court of Lucknow, before that court was abolished; the Sepoys of Oude were a set of men honoured by their own people, and trusted by their officers. When led in battle by the latter, they were brave and faithful; on the march, or in cantonments, they were orderly and obedient; in private intercourse, they were gentle and polite. Ignorant and bigoted and prejudiced they always were; and to ignorance and bigotry and prejudice, may be in a great measure ascribed the ease with which, in the hour of trial, their ears were opened to the voice of treason, and they forgot their honour and their oaths.

That treachery and cruelty which seem to be inherent in the Asiatic nature, and which no extent of educatiou has as yet even modified in the natives of India, showed itself in the sepoy character during the late mutiny in an unmistakable and most repulsive form. Everyone is acquainted with the details of the massacres of last year; massacres, which for cold-blooded cruelty, never since the world was created, have been surpassed. Everyone knows how the sepoys, throwing off their mask of respect and of discipline, turned upon their officers, and their wives and children, slaughtering them in cold blood, and too often treating them with indignity; and I myself well remember the sickening feeling that came over me, when on the march to Lucknow from the station from which I and others were escaping, I was told by a sepoy who had but an hour before fawned upon me, and promised to be faithful, that I and the rest of my party would all be killed before we reached our destination, that not one of us would escape from their hands. Education and true religion have indeed much to accomplish before they influence the minds and change the character of these men.

The Pāssies of Oude require a passing glance. They are a peculiar tribe of professional robbers, who are armed with bow and arrows, and sometimes with matchlocks. They pursue thieving on their own account, or hire themselves out to the various chiefs as mercenary irregulars. They also are employed by the villagers to guard their houses or their crops; and when once engaged in this way, their honesty is proverbial, and perfect trust is placed in them. They understand the

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habits of the wild animals of Oude, and have always been employed by European sportsmen there to point out the haunts of the game, and to drive it from the jungle. Their expertness with the bow and arrow is wonderful.

Of those of the Hindoo population of Oude that are not indigenous to the country, but have immigrated to it from other parts of India, the Rajpoots are the principal. According to General Sleeman, they have been settled there for a thousand years. They preserve their own habits and customs, and, amongst others, that of infanticide. At least they did so to within seven or eight years ago; and the probability is that, in spite of all prohibition by Government, it is still carried on secretly. Female children alone are sacrificed; and for this reason. The pride of family, which forbids the division of family-property among female children, forbids also the marriage of such children with those of a lower caste than themselves. The Rajpoot girls cannot expect to form advantageous alliances, because of their want of dower; and it is therefore thought better to make away with them in their infancy, that they may not live to be a burden or a disgrace to their family. It may be well here to mention that suttee, *i.e.*, the self-immolation of a widow on her husband's funeral-pile, has some years since been put down in Oude, as well as in other parts of India.

In connection with the poor population of Oude, I may be allowed to notice a disease very prevalent in the districts across the large river Gogra. Having been stationed between the Gogra and the forest of the Teraie, which separates Oude from Nepaul, I had opportunities for noticing that numbers of the people were afflicted with bronchocele or goître. This complaint appears to be confined almost entirely to the trans-Gogra portion of the country; it prevails, too, in the neighbouring districts of Goruckpore and Jounpore. It is not confined to man, but attacks the lower animals, as birds and dogs. The natives ascribe it to the water of the district, which is procured principally from wells. I tested this water in several instances, and found it to contain an excess of lime; but then all the water of Oude contains lime. It has been said that the goître of Switzerland may be the result of drinking snow water; and there can be no doubt that the water drunk by the goîtred people of Oude is of similar origin, in great measure, to that of the Swiss, coming down as it does from the snowy mountains.

It now becomes necessary to allude briefly to the higher class of the Hindoos of Oude. These were, in the king's time, the Rajahs, Talookdars, Zemindars, and Chuckledars of the country. The two last were of less importance than the Rajahs and Talookdars, *i.e.*, they had authority over less extent of

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country. They were all under the king, and acted, or were supposed to act, as his servants. They were, however, very much like the feudal barons of England in King John's time, and quite beyond the royal control. The Talookdars held a certain property immediately under Government, who farmed it out to them, and they managed it in their own way and with their own police. They were to pay a certain tribute to the king, collecting as much as they could from their tenantry and of course, as their object was to amass riches, they squeezed the poor cultivators to the utmost. These men often became quite unmanageable, keeping up thousands of armed retainers, frequently refusing to pay their tribute, and setting the king and his authority at defiance. They annexed lands, oppressed their weaker neighbours, extorting treasure or possessions from them, and, in fact, acted the part of tyrants in the districts in which they lived. The king was almost powerless to prevent this, and when, therefore, he was deposed by us, and our regular Government set up, and our courts of justice instituted, these Talookdars felt themselves in a new and most unpleasant position. Their tyranny was at an end; their lands, acquired by fraud or force, were in many instances taken from them, and given back to the descendants of their former possessors. Even their persons were not always secure; for sometimes, as in the case of that powerful Zemindar, Maun Singh, who saved the ladies of Fyzabad when the mutiny took place there, they were confined in our gaols on account of some irregularity or offence. It cannot be wondered at, then, that our rule was unpopular with these men; that they longed to return to the old state of anarchy which had prevailed during the reign of the kings; and that, though they appeared to acquiesce in the assumption of their country by the British, they were ready to join actively in the rebellion when it came. These Talookdars are the persons to whom Lord Canning's celebrated proclamation was addressed, and whom Mr. Montgomery is now inducing, by his tact and good management, to come in and declare for us; the only exceptions being those who took an active part in the murder of Europeans during the mutiny. Fortunately there were but few of these last; while certain of the Rajahs, as he of Bulrampore, to whom the Europeans of the station at which I was owe a great deal, were as staunch and as true as possible.

It now remains briefly to notice the Mussulman portion of the Oude population. The Mussulmans of the country generally have, from living among Hindoos for so long a period, become to a certain extent Hindooized. Retaining their religion and their peculiar names, they yet in appearance and in

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manners can sometimes with difficulty be distinguished from their Hindoo neighbours.

It is, or was, different in Lucknow. There, the king and court being Mussulman, the followers of the Prophet were in the ascendant, and, whether in their religious feasts and fasts, or in their dress and general appearance, or in their manners and bearing, were quite unmistakable. There was in Lucknow a large number, probably about sixty thousand, of armed men, ready for any mischief; a sort of *Lazzaroni*, in fact, willing to profit by any disturbance through which they might have an opportunity of plundering, or to hire themselves to any one who wished and was willing to pay for their services. This class was composed principally of Mussulmans of ruined character and desperate fortunes, but will, it is to be hoped, never again raise its head at Lucknow.

VI.—*On the Effects of Commixture, Locality, Climate, and Food on the Races of Man.* By JOHN CRAWFURD, F.R.G.S.

BEFORE attempting to give an outline of this subject, one not only of scientific interest, but of great practical and political importance, I shall offer a few general observations. Taking the races of man as we see them spread over 130 degrees of the globe's latitude, we find them, in many cases, differing widely from each other in physical form and in mental endowment.

Physically, the most salient differences are in complexion, hair and beard, form of features, and stature. In colour, we have every shade from the fair of the northern European to the ebony black of the Congo negro. The hair of the head is silken and many coloured only in the races of Europe and of a few of those of western Asia. With all the races of central and eastern Asia, with the American, the Malayan, and Polynesian, it is ever lank, wiry, and black. With the negro of Africa, it is short, black, and woolly; while with the oriental negro, it appears in short, spiral, isolated tufts, and of considerable length. The beard is chiefly distinguished by its abundance or scantiness. It is abundant in the European races, very copious with the races of central Asia, scanty in the Chinese and Mongolian races, still more so in the Malayan, and almost wanting in the copper coloured American. In the features of the face, we have so prodigious a variety that it is impossible for language to define and fix them. In stature, the

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variety is much less than in the other characters. The races of Europe, of western Asia, the African negroes, the Chinese, the Hindus, and the red Indians, do not in this respect very materially differ, and are all tall. On the other hand, we have the short and squab Mongolians, Nepaulese, Buteas, Hindu-Chinese, and Malays;- and then the pigmy negroes of the Andamans, of the Malayan peninsula, and of the Philippine islands.

In mental endowment, we have nearly as great a variety as in physical form. It is not for a moment to be imagined that any one race of man is of greater antiquity on the earth than another, but as it is obvious that from climate and locality some of them have enjoyed far better opportunities for intellectual development than others, I shall take, for comparison, in order to show their difference of intellectual capacity, those only with whom the conditions seem nearly equally favourable. In the ice-bound regions of the north, where the year consists of a day and a night, no intellectual development beyond the necessities of its position would be looked for, however high the organization of the race inhabiting them. In the great continent of Australia, the absence of cereals, of food-yielding palms and of animals fit for domestication and labour, were obstacles quite sufficient to hinder intellectual advancement.

The Hindu race occupies a country equal in all material advantages to Europe, but no one can fancy that it possesses the same mental capacity with the races of that continent, or even with the races inhabiting central and western Asia. A small number of the last of these conquered the greater portion of their country, and held the most civilized of them in thraldom for seven centuries. The inhabitants of two remote islands of the Atlantic, whose forefathers were savages for a thousand years after the Hindus had attained a considerable measure of civilization, have, in the course of a single century, conquered nearly their whole country, and, with a mere handful of soldiers, hold in subjection two hundred millions of them.

The Chinese race occupies a country lying within the same latitudes generally as that of the Hindus, and of equal, but not superior fertility. Their civilization is of great antiquity, but probably not greater than that of the Hindus, but they excel them in the useful arts, in capacity for self government, and in skilful industry, ever a proof of superior civilization.

The Malayan race occupies countries far greater in extent, equal in fertility and in natural means of intercommunication with those lying on the shores of the Mediterranean, and yet none of the nations composing it have to this day attained the amount of civilization which the Egyptians, Phœnicians, Greeks, and Italians had reached three thousand years ago.

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The negroes of the Malay and Philippine Archipelagos are savages, while the Malayan race with whom they are intermixed have acquired no mean knowledge in arts and letters. The negroes of the South Sea Islands are invariably found in a lower social condition than the brown Polynesian people of these islands.

Down to the present day no negro tribe of Africa has invented letters, nor, indeed, unless partially, adopted those of other nations. The Egyptians, on the same continent, had invented written language four thousand years ago. Even the brown races on the African shores of the Mediterranean had invented letters in very remote times, but their example has never been followed by their immediate neighbours, the negroes. These have the misfortune to be endowed with great physical strength and powers of endurance, without intellectual powers corresponding; and it is this which has made the race so amenable to servitude by the fairer nations. In the earliest ages they appear to have been held in slavery both by the Egyptians and natives of Palestine, and it is this which is probably alluded to in Scripture, when it is said that "Canaan should be a servant of servants to his brethren." Among the nations of central and western Asia the negro is still found in a state of slavery, but it is the civilized nations of modern Europe that have abused to the greatest extent the peculiar qualities of the race. During the last two hundred and fifty years they have transported from Africa, as slaves, perhaps not fewer than twenty millions of negroes, a number sufficient to constitute a great nation; and there are now planted, the greater number in a state of slavery, about seven millions of this race, oblivious of their own tongues, and speaking strange ones imperfectly. In possession of the horse, the ass, the camel, even of the elephant, which no negro nation has ever been known to have tamed, although this had been done by the Carthagenian strangers settled on their soil, it cannot be pleaded for the negro as for the red man of America, that he had not the larger animal to serve him in the march of civilization.

The red man of America had nearly the whole of that vast continent to himself, great portions of it more fertile and more extensive than China, Hindustan, or Europe, and better furnished with natural means of intercommunication. Notwithstanding these great advantages, the possession of at least one cereal, of cotton, and of two beasts of burden, the most advanced of them had never discovered the art of writing, hieroglyphic or phonetic. The red man was even inferior to the negro, for he had not discovered the art of making iron malleable. The nations of Europe have, with slender oppo-

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sition, occupied their country, reducing the most advanced of them to the condition of serfs, and causing the wilder to retire before them in company with the wild animals of the forest, and, like them, perishing in their last retreat.

The instances now given will show how great is the disparity which exists between the different races of mankind. Whether these races constitute distinct species of a single genus, or mere varieties of a species, is a question difficult, and perhaps impossible, to determine. The most widely different among them have certainly the same periods of gestation, of infancy, of puberty, of maturity and longevity, and the result of their union is invariably a fertile offspring. To judge by the analogy of the lower animals, this would make the races of man mere varieties of a species, such as exist in some of our domesticated animals. Even with the lower animals, however, the characters which distinguish species from varieties are not uniform and unexceptional. The horse and ass have the same periods of gestation and maturity, and the same length of life, but the offspring between them is sterile. The dog and wolf agree in every character, for even their offspring is fertile. My friend Dr. Falconer, the distinguished naturalist, informs me that the offspring between the zubu of Tibit or *bos grunniens* and the common ox, although animals of two distinct subgenera of a family, is invariably fertile. Man, indeed, differs so widely in essential attributes, mental and physical, from even the most highly organized of the lower animals, that any comparison between him and them for the purpose of classification must be deceptive. Thus man's period of gestation is the same as that of the ox, but his length of life is three times as long. The period of gestation with the elephant is near twice as long as that of man, and his bulk a hundred times greater, but its length of life is probably about the same. Man walks erect, uses tools, and stores knowledge which none of the lower animals ever do. He enslaves for his own use all the lower animals that have a capacity for servitude, and he is capable of destroying the most fierce and powerful of them. No savages have ever been found so destitute of ingenuity as not to be able to destroy the elephant, the lion, and the tiger. Man, then, belongs to an exclusive category, and for the purpose of classification, the analogy of the lower animals may only mislead; so that practically, the races may be considered as distinct species. That they should be so, is agreeable to what we find to be the case with all the other races of organized beings, and consonant with that variety which pervades all nature.

How many aboriginal races may have existed at an early period of the history of man is a question which will probably never be

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determined, since it is surrounded by so many obvious difficulties. In some cases, the characters which distinguish races from each other are broad and palpable, while in others they pass into each other by such shades as no language can describe. There is no difficulty in distinguishing an European, a Negro, a Hindu, a Malay, and a Red American from each other, but there are many kinds of Europeans, of Negroes, Hindus, Malays, and Red Indians whom it is impossible to find language to define. Take the negro for example, of this there are many varieties in Africa, and almost as many in the Malay and South Sea Islands. Commixture of races has, in many cases, increased the difficulty of determining the primordial ones. The history of Europe during the last 3000 years shows to what an extent this commixture has been carried. Even Asiatic races have, to some extent, mixed their blood with that of the pristine European races.

Some learned and ingenious men have attempted to classify the races of man by the different forms of their naked skulls; one philosopher compassing the whole number into five and another into seven classes. In these classifications, we find parties the most opposite to each other brought under the same category. Thus the Hindus of high caste are classed with Europeans, so that the legislator Menu stands side by side with Newton and Bacon, and the Bramin murderer Nana Sahib with an English bishop. Such a classification seems to be about as vain, hopeless, and impracticable as would be one for the arrangement of plants by the shape of the dried fruits of their cultivated varieties. Naturalists cannot always distinguish the different species of the same genus of wild animals from the form of the skull alone, as in the different species of the genera to which the horse, the ox, and the dog belong, and it seems utterly hopeless with man where the varieties are incomparably greater than in any of these.

With these prefatory remarks, I enter on the main questions of this essay. The result of the union of any two of the races of man is an offspring partaking in an equal degree of the characters of both parents, and without further admixture, the variety thus produced is permanent. It is known by various names commonly signifying mixture or mongrel. Thus, we have in Spanish the word Mestizo having exactly that meaning, and which is applied to the offspring of an European father by an American or Asiatic mother. The term Mulato, which is derived from mula, a mule or hybrid, is confined to the offspring of an European and negro, and Cambo to that of a negro and copper coloured American. We and other European nations have borrowed these terms from the Spaniards, who

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have had much more experience of these admixtures than any other people. Our own term of half-caste, which we apply to the offspring of an European father by an Asiatic mother, has the same import.

The Asiatic nations, where there is much disparity in the races of the parents, have sometimes adopted similar terms. Thus, the descendants of the Arabs with Hindu mothers, an industrious, enterprizing, but rather troublesome people on the western side of the Indian Peninsula, are known by the name of Moplay, correctly Mapilla, which in the Tamil language signifies "child of the mother", that is, child of a native mother by a foreign father. The Malays have a term of similar signification, Pâranahran, which implies "child of the womb." With the name of the race of the father annexed, it is applied to the descendants of strangers with Malayan mothers. Thus we have Pâranahran-China, the offspring of a Malay or Javanese mother by a Chinese father, and Pâranahran-Kling, the offspring of a Malayan mother by an Indian father. The mixed Chinese are very numerous in the Malay Archipelago and adjacent countries, owing to the well known fact of this people seldom or never emigrating with their families.

When the races approximate, no peculiar terms are used to distinguish their offspring. Thus, we have none for the admixtures springing from the different races of Europe, and there is none for the numerous races which spring from the intermarriages of Turks, Persians, and Affghans with the women of India.

When the mixed race is united continuously with one of the parent stocks, the character of the other first parent is still perceptible in the third generation, called by the Spaniards a Quadroon, but disappears altogether in the fourth generation. This happens even in the union of the most opposite races, as in the instance of the European and negro. Either the European or the negro, as the case may be, will reappear.

A pure Mestizo race can only exist in a nation where the two races from which it springs are in equal numbers, a condition which in a nation never occurs. We have been in the habit of calling ourselves Anglo-Saxons, but the great probability is that we have far more of British than of Teutonic blood in us; for it is unreasonable to conclude that the fierce and savage pirates of Scandinavia, who reached our shores only by boat-loads, were more numerous than the more civilized people they invaded and conquered. Instead of being pure Anglo-Saxons, we are, on the contrary, among the most bastard people in the world.

The union of a superior with an inferior race deteriorates,

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of course; the former of which we have striking examples in Mexico and Peru, where, chiefly on this account, it has hitherto been impossible to establish anything like a stable and civilized government. When, on the contrary, the races are nearly equal, there is no degeneration. Some have even supposed that the mixture is an improvement, and quote, in illustration, the French, the English, and the Anglo-Americans. These, at all events, are equal to the Germans, the least mixed people of Europe.

The Turks are an example of a people that may be either improved or deteriorated according to the race with which they have intermixed. In Europe, they have been greatly improved by intermarriage with Greeks, Albanians, and Circassians; while in India they have been deteriorated by intermixture with Hindus.

The Jews, as we find them scattered over the wide world, make, perhaps, the nearest approach to a people in whom two races are equally mixed. With the type of the original race always sufficiently marked, they partake also of the characteristics of the people among whom they are settled. In Germany, Holland, and England, they are not unfrequently to be seen with fair hair and blue or gray eyes, which, assuredly, the subjects of David and Solomon never had. In India, they are often black, a complexion equally foreign to the subjects of these princes.

It is only when a race is small in number and in the savage state that it gives way before a few of a superior race and is wholly superseded by it. This supercession is in rapid progress in the temperate regions of North America, in Australia, and in New Zealand. In these, the inferior races disappear either by extirpation or absorption, but far more by the first than the last of these processes.

The extent to which the intermixture of races has been carried may often be inferred from the evidence of language. The Latin language, with a few isolated exceptions, seems to have superseded the many native tongues of Italy, France, and Spain, a result which could not have taken place without a great admixture of Roman blood. The extent to which the Saxon language has prevailed over Britain is proof of the number and power of those who established it, although neither in this nor the last instance is it at all probable that the invaders equalled the aboriginal inhabitants.

The fewness of the Franks, Burgundians, and Goths that settled in Romanized France is to be inferred from the small proportion of Teutonic words which exist in the present French language. The same conclusion is to be drawn from the pro-

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portionably small number of Norman-French in our own language, usually estimated not to exceed one-sixth part. Had the Normans been as numerous as the Angles, Jutes, and Saxons, our present tongue must have been French and not English.

There are, of course, cases to which this test of commixture does not apply. One race, however numerous, may be so inferior in civilization to another, that although the conqueror it may adopt the language of the conquered. Or the languages of two intermixing races may be so widely different in their genius as to refuse to amalgamate. Two Tartar tribes have been masters of China for the best part of six centuries, or as long as the Romans were in possession of Gaul, but instead of imposing their many-syllabled languages on the Chinese, they have adopted, without, however, losing their own language, the monosyllabic tongues of the Chinese.

The Chinese have been settled and have intermixed with the natives of the Malayan and Philippine Archipelagos, who all speak polysyllabic languages, and they have adopted the tongues of these people, while of their own dialects hardly a dozen words have been adopted by the Islanders.

The language of the Turks has hardly produced any effect at all on that of the Greeks, although they have been masters of Greece for four hundred years. The Arabs were masters of the best parts of the Iberian peninsula for eight centuries, but the proportion of Arabic (and this always in a mutilated form), introduced into the Spanish and Portuguese languages, is not preponderating, and never affects their fundamental structure.

The most current of the languages of Hindustan has adopted nearly the same proportion of Persian with its Arabic element as our Saxon speech did of Norman French. This was the result of seven hundred years domination, which was never so pervading as to have enabled the conquerors, in any case, to substitute their own tongue for a vernacular one.

The case of the Africans, transported in slavery to America and its islands, is a peculiar and isolated one. Without any perceptible intermixture at all, they have, to the probable number of six millions, wholly dropped their many native tongues, and adopted in their stead those of their various masters,—English, French, Spanish, and Portuguese.

The Romans conquered and long occupied Spain, necessarily mixing Italian largely with Iberian blood since they imposed their language on the greater part of the kingdom. They were followed by the Goths, and the number of Teutonic words in Spanish attests the intermixture in the Spanish people of Germanic blood. The Goths were followed by a very different race—the Arabs, who conquered and held possession of some

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of the finest parts of the kingdom for eight centuries. Their presence is indicated by the very considerable number of Arabic words in the language of the Spaniards, the only European people who have any admixture of the blood of an Asiatic race. Yet, with so much foreign blood, the probability is that the aboriginal Iberian blood greatly prevails in the modern Spaniard, and that the inferior streams which have been poured into it have not materially affected its character.

The Welsh and Irish languages contain a very considerable number of Latin words, much mutilated to suit the genius of these tongues, yet genuine and not introduced through the medium of a third language. The parties who introduced them were the religious and social instructors of the Welsh and Irish, and these were Italians. Italian blood, therefore, has been intermixed with Welsh and Irish, but probably not to such an extent as to have produced any appreciable effect on the original race.

The presence of much Sanskrit in the languages of the more advanced nations of the Malay and Hindu-Chinese races proves the former presence among them of many Hindus, a fact also satisfactorily attested by religion and monuments of art. The admixture, however, has had no effect in altering the character of the races, as is satisfactorily shown by the entire agreement in physical form between the tribes in whose languages words of Hindu origin are found, and those in whose tongues that element is wanting. Thus a Malay, a Javanese, and a Siamese are as unlike a Hindu as they are a Chinese, and more than they are to a Nepaulese or Tibetian.

The Gipsies are admitted to be a people of Indian origin who settled and first presented themselves in Europe four hundred years ago. It is certain that they are now a very mixed people, since they are found to partake, more or less, of the physical characteristics of the European races they have settled among, while their complexions, even when darkest, are of a fairness never seen among any Indian people. Their patois contains abundant evidence of Indian pedigree.

Taking a wide survey of the different races of mankind as we now see them, it does not appear that colour and the other more prominent physical attributes, or mental capacity, have any necessary connexion with climate, and of this fact the evidence is abundant. The Chinese have the same yellow complexion, the same features, the same stature, and the same industry and ingenuity, from the 18° to the 40° of north latitude. They have established themselves in Tartary up to the 50°, without undergoing any physical or intellectual change. Settled in countries almost on the equator, and even

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with some Malayan blood, the change in them is but very inconsiderable.

The Scandinavian nations are very fair and the Sclavonian very brown under the same skies. The Arabs are a fair people compared with the Hindus, although both races live within the same latitudes, and history shows that the Arabs are possessed of much higher mental endowments than the Hindus. The Hindus are of the same black complexion and the same stature from Cape Comorin to the Himalayas, over 22° of latitude; and when the conditions in which they are placed are equally favourable to their social development, the intellectual faculties of the different nations which compose the race do not seem materially to differ. The Siamese, situated by 10° nearer the equator than the people of Bengal proper, are not nearly so black. The Malays, on the very equator itself, are fairer a good deal than either. The Malayan race itself has the same complexion, the same stature and the same features on the equator and 20° away from it. In the very same countries inhabited by the Malayan race, there is found a race of diminutive black negroes greatly below it in intellectual capacity.

In about the 12° of north latitude, we have, in the Andaman islands a race of black negroes, pigmies in person and understanding. Very close to them, in the Nicobars, we find a Malayan race greatly superior to them in person and mental capacity. Within three hundred miles of these little negroes, and east of them, we have the squab brown Peguans; while seven hundred miles west of them, we have the tall Hindus with their regular and handsome features, imbued with the civilization of perhaps not less than four thousand years.

The great island of New Guinea is occupied by a negro race very different from the African, but hardly inferior in strength and stature. The great continent of Australia, divided from it by a channel not exceeding a hundred and eighty miles broad, is occupied by a totally different and unique variety of man, black and of the lowest physical and mental organization. The race is one and the same from the 11° to the 43° of south latitude. Here, then, we have men, very low in the scale of humanity, occupying countries at the same distance from the equator with the lands that produced Greeks, Romans, Egyptians and Chinese. It is very difficult to imagine a Homer, a Cæsar, or even a Confucius, springing from such a race.

The South-Sea Islands are occupied by two distinct races of man, differing from each other and seemingly from every other variety of the human race. The one is a black negro and the other a comely brown man. It is true that the negro is not found further from the equator than 20°, but the brown man

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is in physical form and mental capacity, one and the same from the equator to the 47° of south latitude. This race, then, some of whom were egregious cannibals, occupies countries corresponding with the finest parts of Europe, the abode of the civilized white man, perhaps never authentically ascertained to have practised cannibalism.

The red or copper-coloured man of America occupies the whole of that vast continent over 115° of latitude. He is of the same complexion, stature and features throughout; the same at the equator as 50° distant from it; the same at the level of the sea as 10,000 feet above it; and often his mode of life seems equally adapted to a hot, a temperate, and a cold climate. The highest mental development which it had attained was among the Mexicans and Peruvians, but their civilization was by no means to be compared to that of the people of Java, made known to Europe about the same time; for the latter had invented letters and discovered the art of making iron malleable, acquirements which the Mexicans and Peruvians had made no approach to.

Except the red man, the only variety in race over the whole American continent is the Esquimaux, which occurs at its northern extremity where the red man ends. Here we have a short, squab man, with lank hair and a yellow complexion, more like the Malay dwelling at the equator than a Scandinavian nearly in the same climate with himself. The general prevalence of one race over America compared with the many in Europe and even in Africa, and with the vast variety in Asia and in Polynesia, is one of the most singular, and to our faculties the most inexplicable, facts in the distribution of our species.

To define and classify all the races of man as we find them distributed over the face of the earth, after the manner in which we classify the lower animals in the wild state, is probably an achievement which the Ethnologist will never accomplish. It would be fruitless to attempt such a classification in our domesticated animals, and man is ever like them, a domesticated animal, even in the most savage state in which he has ever been found. Even in the best defined races, individuals will occasionally be found much resembling those of very different ones. Thus an Englishman may be seen with the features of a Chinese and a Spaniard with the features and complexion of a Persian or Arab. Then, further to perplex us, we have the fact, that from the creation, no two human beings exactly alike have ever existed.

But climate, it has been alleged, will in time alter the physical form and mental faculties of a race transferred from its original locality to a new one. As far as our experience extends, it is certain that no such change has ever been known to have taken

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place, and the supposed examples of it will be found, on examination, to be mere delusions. The negroes of tropical Africa, whom, during three centuries, we have been transplanting to the temperate regions of America, undergo no change; but in complexion, features, hair, and stature, are undistinguishable from the men of the same stock whom we find in the parent country. The Nubians, represented on the most ancient sculptures of Egypt, are the Nubians in form of the present day. This is the very race represented in scripture as being as incapable of changing its skin as the leopard his spots. Egyptian skulls, four thousand years old, are identical with those of the Copts of the present day. The Nineveh monuments, at least thirty ages old, represent human forms with features not differing from those of the present inhabitants of the same locality.

In India, we find some remarkable examples of the permanence of transplanted races. The forefathers of the people whom we call Parsees were a colony of Persians which settled on the western side of India above a thousand years ago, driven from their parent country by the conquest and religious persecution of the Arabs. They left the Persian province of Khorasan in the year 776, and Khorasan extends from the 32° to 36° of latitude. Ever since, they have been located within the tropics, and the bulk of them is at present dwelling in about the 18°. During their long expatriation they have persistently refused to intermix their blood, whether with Hindus or conquerors of Hindus. They have preserved, at the same time, the ancient religion of Persia, which has, no doubt, contributed to keep them a separate people. The result of all this is, that they seem to have preserved unchanged the complexion and features of the race from which they sprang, and, it is probable, differ in no respect from the native subjects of Cyrus or Darius. From the few families of which they must originally have consisted, they are reckoned at present to have reached to the number of a quarter of a million, forming a community distinguished for enterprise and respectability far beyond all the other Asiatic strangers who have settled in India.

In the same part of India there have been settled, for a still longer time than the Persian colony, Jews and Syrian Christians, and these have retained or departed from the type of their forefathers in proportion as they have abstained from mixing with or have intermixed with the Hindu population, and they are hence distinguished into "white" and "black." The greater number are of the last description, or, in fact, are far more Hindus than they are Jews or Syrians.

The case of the Portuguese, who have been settling on the coasts of India since the days of Vasco di Gama, has often been

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quoted to show how a race may be changed by the mere power of the sun,—may be so metamorphosed, as from fair and stalwart men, to become black and puny. The notion of such metamorphosis is a delusion founded in ignorance. The Portuguese in India, as everywhere, continue of the same form and complexion as in Portugal, and are black in proportion as their blood has been intermixed with that of the Hindus. But, indeed, the greater number of those who, in India, go under the name of Portuguese, have not a drop of European blood in their veins. They are, in fact, the descendants of Hindus of the lower castes, made converts by the early Portuguese conquerors in India, who were very active and zealous propagandists. At baptism these converts received Portuguese names, and at present they speak a patois Portuguese, and this is all that is Portuguese about them.

The Spaniards in India have followed the same practice as the Portuguese, and, under more favourable auspices, have been able to convert to Christianity the greater part of the population of the Philippine Islands, reckoned at about five millions. The work of conversion began with the discoverer, the celebrated Magellan, and his secretary, Pigafetta, tells the story. The first day of the undertaking, the king of the large Island of Zebu and eight hundred of his people were baptized with Christian names. The king was called after the Emperor Charles V, the queen after his mother, and the heir apparent after his brother, and so on. If, then, the Portuguese of India have by the power of the sun been turned into Hindus, it follows that the Spaniards of the Philippines have been converted by the same sun into Malays!

The so-called Indian Portuguese are themselves sometimes better informed respecting their pedigree. About eight and thirty years ago, there lived in Calcutta a wealthy and respectable merchant, one Joseph Baretto, who was supposed to be a Portuguese turned black, for that was his complexion. His son was educated in England and sat in Parliament for the borough of St. Albans until unseated for corruption. The Barettos had no European blood in their veins, but were the descendants of a family of Mahratta Bramins (of the same class of Bramins as the wholesale murderer Nana Sahib), converted to Christianity by Portuguese missionaries about two hundred years ago.

The question whether an European race is capable of living and multiplying in a tropical or other hot region, seems to have been settled in the affirmative on a large scale in America. Of the pure Spanish race, there are at present probably not fewer than six millions, mostly within the tropics, sometimes

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dwelling on the level of the sea, and sometimes 10,000 feet above it. This colonization has been in progress now for above three centuries. The Portuguese of Brazil, of pure blood, are estimated at not fewer than two millions.

On the effect of heat on the European constitution, the testimony of the most acute, accomplished, and trustworthy of all travellers, Baron Humboldt, is so complete and satisfactory, that it is worth quoting. "Southern America," says he, "but more especially the province of Cumana, the coast of Coro, and the plains of Curaccas, bear testimony that heat alone is not the cause of great mortality. In countries very hot, but at the same time dry, the human race obtains a longevity perhaps greater than in temperate zones. This is more particularly the case where temperature and climate are variable. Europeans who, at rather an advanced age repair to the equinoctial provinces of Spain, generally attain a fine and happy old age. At Vera Cruz, in the midst of the "black vomit," the native inhabitants and acclimated Europeans enjoy a state of health the most perfect. In general, the sea coast and plains of equinoctial America must be considered healthy; notwithstanding the excessive ardour of the sun, its perpendicular rays reflected from the earth."

Notwithstanding this weight of testimony on European colonization in America, it has confidently been asserted that the British possessions in India are an unfit residence for the permanent dwelling of Englishmen, although within the same latitudes with the warm parts of America, and portions of it even more distant from the equator. No less an authority than the late Duke of Wellington, gave it as his opinion that Europeans, especially in Lower Bengal, most of which is without the tropics, would die out even in the third generation. But it is certain that this was an hypothesis of His Grace unsupported by facts. His experience of India belonged to the last years of the last and the first of the present century, when we had been but little more than forty years in possession of territory to settle in, and when, during the whole even of this brief time, Englishmen were not only prohibited from owning land, but even prohibited from entering the country except under licence specially granted, and recoverable without cause assigned.

The British possessions in India, from Cashmere to Behar, over eight degrees of latitude, embrace the same climates as those in the corresponding latitudes of America, from the Carolinas to Florida. The American States are colonized by nearly three millions of white men, the majority of the same blood with ourselves; yet this portion of America, for the most

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part covered with forest, must be, and is actually known to be, less congenial to human life than India, a land the greater part of which has been cleared and cultivated perhaps for forty ages.

It is true that a country which, like India, is already densely peopled, cannot be colonized in the strict and rigid sense of the term colonization, any more than can a market, already stocked with goods, afford a profitable sale for an additional supply. This, however, refers to labour only which is abundant, while there is a dearth of capital, skill, and intelligence, which the settlement of Europeans only can furnish. Even in the matter of labour, were it wanted, it is not to be concluded that cultivated Europeans would not supply it, when we see Spaniards labouring in equinoctial America, and Anglo-Saxons in the southern states of the American Union, wherever labour is not discredited by juxta-position with negro slavery. An unacclimated Englishman would no more perform field labour under the sun of an Italian or Spanish summer than he can under the hot winds in India. In such climates, even the natives of the country refrain from labour during the hottest hours of the day.

It must not, however, be concluded, from the facts now stated, that climate has no effect at all on race. A change will certainly not alter form, stature, or complexion, but removal from a temperate to a hot climate, must, to a certain extent, impair the energy of a race, while the reverse may increase it. It will hardly be insisted that the Creoles of Cuba, or the Cavaccas, are of equal energy with the people of Spain; while it will be admitted that the New Zealanders, who have migrated from the neighbourhood of the equator, are far more energetic than the men of the same race, such as the Tahitians, whom they there left behind them.

From what has now been stated, it may be safely concluded, that although man may have been originally allocated in specific regions, some of the hardier races are capable of being transplanted without detriment, to climates for which they would seem not to have been born. We cannot, indeed, imagine an Esquimaux living in the torrid zone, or a Malay amid ice and snow within the arctic circle, but we find men of pure European blood thriving at least as well in Cuba as in Iceland, and Chinese, with a very trifling admixture of Malayan blood, living as comfortably at Batavia as at Pekin, although four-and-thirty degrees apart. The African negro does not, perhaps, take so wide a range, but we find him from the equator to near the 40° of latitude, and multiplying in the temperate zone even in slavery. The Polynesians of New Zealand, in the temperate zone, were the same men and spoke the same language as the

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Polynesians of the Marquesas, within ten degrees of the equator. Thirty degrees of latitude had not altered their colour, their stature, or their features.

Something analogous may be seen with a few of the lower animals. A few have as wide a range as the hardier races of man himself, as the horse, the ox, the hog, the dog, the common poultry, the crow, the house-sparrow, and the snipe. Some of these are, probably, originally natives of warm climates, but have accompanied the European wherever he has gone—the common poultry, for example, which is, most probably, a native of Hindustan. Others of the lower animals are confined to limited localities, or have a wide range only considered as a family or group. Thus we have the Malay bear on the equator and the polar bear in the highest northern latitudes, with diverse species between, and we find foxes in Bengal and in Greenland. In this last case, there may be some analogy with the weaker races of mankind.

On the subject of food, a very few words will suffice. By his anatomical structure, man is an omnivorous animal, and all the races, when attainable, will equally consume animal and vegetable food. A very few, the result of dire necessity, live on animal food only; such as the Esquimaux, who could not exist amid ice and snows if they did not. No race lives exclusively on a vegetable diet, for their position has never rendered a restriction to it indispensable. The nearest approach to it is probably among the higher classes of Hindoos, but these are great consumers of milk and butter, of vegetable oils and pulses, which contain the same chemical elements as animal food. Some tropical races, such as the Malays, have been supposed to be almost exclusive consumers of fruits and vegetables, which is not true, for they are large consumers of fish and of vegetable oils, or of substances containing these oils, as the coconut and ground-pea.

The physical character of a race does not seem to be in any respect altered or affected by the nature of the principal vegetable diet of which it partakes, provided the quantity be sufficient and the quality wholesome. Examples in illustration are abundant. The Red Indians, who live on the banana, are equal to the same men living on maize. The Hindus of the table land of southern India, whose bread is millet, are equal in strength and stature to the Hindus, whose bread is wheat in northern India, and superior in these qualities to the Hindus of Bengal, who live on rice, the highest cereal of the tropics. The Chinese, who live on rice in the southern part of the empire, are as large, powerful and industrious as those of the north, whose bread is wheat. The Polynesians of the South Seas, feeding on the

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bread-fruit, the yam, the batata, and the taro or Caladium esculentum, were found to be a larger and more powerful race than the Malays and Javanese, of whom rice had been immemorially the bread. The inhabitants of New Zealand, in the temperate zone, were equal in strength and stature to those of Tahiti within the tropics, although of the same race and speaking the same language, and greatly superior to them in courage. Yet the Tahitians had the bread-fruit, the yam, the coconut, which the New Zealanders wanted; while for animal food, the first had the hog, the dog, and the common fowl; the last having hardly any other animal food than a little fish. Finally, the Irish, reared on the potato, have been found, on trial, not inferior in stature, strength or courage, to the Scots feeding on oaten, or the English on wheaten bread.

But when the question of the diet of a people relates to mental development, the quality assumes a very different aspect. It may safely be asserted, that no race of man ever acquired any respectable amount of civilization that had not for its food some one cereal or another. There is no example of a people attaining civilization compelled to feed on such articles as tuberous roots, sago, the bread fruit, the coconut, or the date. The Malays, whose bread is rice, have an expression which signifies their contempt for those who live on any lower vegetable diet. "Such a one is lower and meaner than the man who lives on the kâladi root." The kâladi is no other than the taro of the South-Sea Islands, and, indeed, our own arrow-root. The bread of the inhabitants of the islands that produce the clove or nutmeg is the pith of a palm, —in short, sago, but even they themselves never fail to prefer rice to it. The civilization of Egypt, in so far as food was concerned, sprang from wheat, and the Nile would, in vain, have fertilized the valley had it produced nothing but dates, very probably the only vegetable food of the Egyptians when the Egyptians, some ten thousand years ago, were savages. The Mexicans and Peruvians were the only people of America that were found to possess a cereal, and they were the only people who had attained any measure of civilization. The skill and forecast necessary to the production of cereals would seem to be both a cause and effect of civilization.

In a social point of view, the well-known advantage to a people of making the highest quality of vegetable food its habitual diet, allowing, as it does, in case of need, a series of lower and cheaper articles to fall back upon, it is unnecessary to insist on.

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VII.—*An Account of an Ascent with the Kirghis through the Mountain Passes to their Summer Pastures at the foot of the snowy peaks of the Ac-Tou, Chinese Tartary.* By T. W. Atkinson.

About noon on the 1st of June, 1850, I started on my return towards a pass near the Ac-sou, after exploring a great chasm cut through the Alatou by an earthquake.

Our way was along the foot of the mountains, over coarse gravel, with large loose stones spread over the surface, and without any vegetation. Having ridden at a good speed over this desert for more than four hours, we reached a grassy steppe just as the sun was sinking below the horizon. As in this region there is little twilight, we lost no time in ascending one of the low ridges to enable the Kirghis to look out for his tribe, my present destination; but no sign of habitation on the vast plain, or of life, was visible before us.

We continued at a rapid gallop, but in less than an hour it became too dark to distinguish objects at a short distance. This compelled us to slacken our speed. After a ride of more than five miles, though our guide thought the aoul was at hand, still no fires could be seen, nor the voice of a dog heard in any direction. A halt was ordered; some of the men dismounted, and laid their heads on the ground, hoping to hear a bark, but were disappointed. The Kirghis being completely at fault, I suggested that we should extend our lines and proceed slowly, by which means we might probably stumble upon our friends. Having continued our progress for a considerable time without the desired result, I called a council to determine our course; and, after due consideration, we again extended our line, proceeding in a northerly direction. A light was at last observed at a great distance to the eastward. At once the men were called in, we turned our horses, and rode towards it at a brisk pace. More than an hour had elapsed, when the fire we had descried gradually decreased, and finally went out. I now ordered a volley to be fired from our rifles, and the vociferous barking of dogs at no great distance to our left proved that the experiment had not been unsuccessful.

Presently we reached a Kirghis encampment, where, as usual, we caused a great commotion, but the usual explanation was quickly followed by the accustomed welcome. On entering the yourt, I found myself standing close to several sleeping children, where two of the gentler sex were just unrolling themselves out of their voilocks. It is rather offensive entering a Kirghis abode that has been closed several hours. One

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of my Cossacks threw open the top, and the fire carried off the noxious effluvia, otherwise it would have been impossible to endure it.

The great caldron was quickly placed on its iron tripod, when a goodly portion of brick tea, clotted cream, salt, and a handful of millet meal was thrown into it. Taking the size of the vessel, I thought there was sufficient to feast a multitude. As I always tried to avoid this mixture, a Cossack began preparing my little somervar, and the inmates watched this operation with great interest. My host's name was Kaïran; he was a man of about fifty years of age, had a dark swarthy or dirty complexion, with broad heavy features, a wide mouth, small and deeply set black eyes, a well formed nose, and a large forehead. His head was shaved, and he wore a closely fitting blue Kanfa cap, embroidered with silver and coloured silks. His neck was as thick and as sturdy as one of his bull's: he was broad shouldered and strongly built; taking him altogether, he was a powerful man. He had on a Khokan cotton Kalat, striped with yellow, red, and green; this dress reached to his feet, and was tied round his waist with a red and green shawl.

The two ladies, his wives, had on skeepskin coats, in which they slept, and high pointed cotton caps. I cannot say that their night gear was particularly clean or interesting, still it may have a charm for a Kirghis. The heads of four children were peeping from their fur covering, and one, a girl of about seven years old, crept out, showing that they were not troubled with night gowns. Near to the children there was a pen in which three young kids slept, and on the opposite side of the yourt three young lambs had a similar berth. These were the inmates of a dwelling twenty-five feet in diameter, besides which the space was still further curtailed by a pile of boxes, carpets, and other chattels.

Having seated myself on a carpet spread in front of the boxes, the Cossack placed my tea apparatus before me, and possessing four glasses, I was enabled to serve my host and his wives with the beverage. Several of the chief's followers were sitting in the yourt, intently watching my proceedings. When I handed tea to the women they evidently thought me a barbarian, as no man with any breeding among their tribes would serve a female until every man and boy had been satisfied. I took every opportunity of showing respect to the women, but unfortunately without any good effect, as these, the lords of the steppe, look on the sex as slaves. Indeed, had I remained twenty years showing this example daily, I should have left them at last, as the missionaries did the Bouriats in another

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region, without making a single convert. Before Kaïran went to sleep, he informed me that many tribes were on their march towards the mountains, and that great numbers were encamped to the westward.

In the morning I beheld a scene that can only be witnessed in these pastoral regions. The aoul consisted of thirteen yourts, in which there were twenty-nine men, thirty-four women, and twenty-six children. The yourts were only put up in a temporary manner; the voilock coverings had been carelessly thrown on to the framework, and were hanging in picturesque folds. Near us there were several other aouls. At a short distance in front of the yourt Kaïran was seated on the ground, with several other chiefs around him in deep consultation. Not far from these the women were at their morning's occupation, milking their cows, sheep, and goats, and the men were preparing to drive the herds to the pastures. When the latter began to move off, the plain around seemed one mass of living animals, while Kirghis, dressed in their gay costumes and mounted on spirited horses, were galloping to and fro, separating their different charges.

Having ascended one of the numerous mounds that afforded a clear view over the vast steppe, I observed long lines of dark objects extending far into the distance. These were horses, oxen, and camels belonging to other tribes, now on their march towards the pass. In every direction great herds of cattle were seen, some so far away that they appeared like specks on these interminable plains. To the south the snowy peaks of the Actou were glittering in the sun, while the lower ranges of the Alatou were lit up, showing the varied colours in all their splendour. My attention was rivetted to the scene, as it forcibly suggested the exodus from Egypt.

While thus employed, Kaïran and the chiefs broke up their council, ascended the tumulus, and told me that three Kirghis had returned from the mountains, whither they had been to examine the upper passes; a necessary precaution, to ascertain if the herds could cross the high ridge, and descend into the valleys beyond. Having reported favourably, this intelligence they had already sent on into the steppe to the other Kirghis, by whom it would be communicated from one tribe to another, and set the whole on the march. After quitting my host, and riding about an hour, I came upon a large aoul belonging to another chief, Ur-ti-gun, whom I found standing at the door of his yourt. He was a tall, well built man, about forty years old, and I thought he would not have disgraced a descent from the great robber chief of the steppe. Having inquired whence I came and whither I was going, I spread out my map and

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showed him his own region and then mine. I pointed out Bokhara, Tashkent, and Khokan, towns known to him, and to which he had most probably sent captives.

After a ride of nearly six hours we reached the aoul of our friends, with thousands of living animals around it. When my people saw us they were delighted, and my host Syrdak seemed greatly pleased to see me again.

I will not attempt to describe a night in a Kirghis yourt, but the moment I awoke in the morning I rushed out to inhale a mouthful of pure air, as that in the voilock dwelling had become intolerable. Looking up towards the mountains, I perceived the sun was just gilding their peaks with his glorious rays. It was a lovely sight, watching one crest after another receive his golden tint; at length all were lighted up with the blaze of day. Our first duty was a thorough cleaning of arms and putting everything in order for our migration with the Kirghis. Syrdak and his friends soon assembled, and remained seated in a circle watching our operations and drinking their favourite beverage.

Suddenly we observed a cloud of dust rising on the plain, and it was not long before we discovered a party of horsemen riding toward us. Syrdak gave some orders to his people; at once several mounted and rode out to meet these visitors and welcome them, if friends. They proved to be a young chief betrothed to Syrdak's daughter, with several of his tribe, and this was his first visit to the aoul of his bride, whom he had not yet seen. Syrdak rose to receive him, taking hold of his bridle and giving his hand to aid in dismounting. He then led him to a yourt which had been moved bodily to a new site by eight or ten matrons and damsels.

When seated, koumis was handed to him in a large Chinese bowl, containing about three pints, which he quickly drained with much gusto. This accomplished, he inquired about the health of his future father-in-law, and received Syrdak's assurance that he never was better. His next inquiry was after the health of Syrdak's sons; then after the camels, horses, oxen, sheep, and goats, and lastly about his mother-in-law and his bride. This is the usual mode amongst the tribes of central Asia.

Among the Kirghis the young lady has no voice in her own nuptials; her father places a certain value upon her, and whoever is able to pay it may become her husband. Thus some of the sultans put so high a price on their daughters that it is very difficult to find a match for them, which occasionally leads to most tragic results, one of which nearly resembled the fate of the young Babylonians.

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The first point to be settled is the "kalym," or marriage portion to be given for the young lady; this consists of a certain number of camels, horses, oxen, and sheep. These must be handed over to the father, who retains them for the benefit of his daughter in case the husband returns her to her parents, which does sometimes happen. When this preliminary is arranged, the Mulla is called in to ratify the marriage contract. He asks the fathers and mothers of the young couple if they are perfectly satisfied with the match and the arrangements; if so, then the intended marriage is announced to the relations on both sides. After this, the Mulla reads several prayers for the prosperity of the bride and bridegroom. This part of the ceremony is performed in the presence of two or more persons, who are chosen by the parents to settle any dispute that may arise before the marriage is completed. This is a Kirghis betrothal. When the matter has proceeded thus far, the father of the bridegroom pays half the kalym, and the father of the bride must prepare her dowry as agreed upon. The young lover is now permitted to visit his bride, and remain with her in the same yourt.

My host's intended son-in-law had come to see his bride for the first time, bedecked with all the finery suitable for the occasion, and with a determination to make an effect both on the young lady and her family. His age was about six-and-twenty; I cannot say that he was particularly handsome, at least not to European eyes,—to Asiatic ones it might be otherwise. He was neither tall nor stout, but had rather a graceful figure when mounted on his splendid horse. His seat was perfect, according to Kirghis notions, and he managed his champing steed well, evidently perfectly at home in the saddle. His costume was a richly coloured yellow and crimson silk kalat, with a pair of black velvet tchimbar, embroidered in various coloured silks. He wore a valuable green shawl round his waist, and a pair of madder coloured high-heeled boots, so short in the foot that walking was difficult. On his head was a crimson kanfa cap, turned up with black fox-skin. His leathern pouch was decorated with iron inlaid with silver; in this he carried his flint, steel, tinder, and snuff-bottle. A knife, pipe, and a whip, stuck in his sash, completed the outfit of the young Asiatic lover. The horse he rode was one of the best from his father's stud, and was a splendid animal, of a dark iron-grey colour. His pedigree could be traced up to one of the finest races in the steppe, which are highly valued by the Kirghis. They have a great love for rich and costly horse trappings, and the young chief had indulged it. The bridle was decorated with small plates of iron inlaid with silver, and wrought in a

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beautiful pattern. This is work for which the Kirghis are justly celebrated, and several of the Sultans keep their own armourer to execute it. The martingale, the saddle, and all straps attached thereto, were beautifully embellished; even his voilock saddle-cloth was ornamented with a pattern worked in several colours. His battleaxe, with the iron rings on the handle, was also inlaid with the precious metal. Thus adorned, and mounted on his fiery steed, few Kirghis maidens could have rejected him. His followers were all young men, dressed in rich costumes, well mounted, and some had splendid horse-trappings. When on horseback, they had a very imposing appearance; but on foot, their high-heeled, short-footed boots gave them a very hobbling gait, which induced the belief that they might be knocked over like ninepins. They were, however, the admiration of the Kirghis, and groups of women were visible peering from the different yourts, and casting scrutinising glances at the visitors. The young lady was quickly informed of the arrival of her future husband, when she retired into one of the yourts, and remained under the care of the females, who concealed her from all intruders. Syrdak had two sheep killed in honour of his guests; but a Kirghis feast, consisting of smoked horse-flesh and mutton, with large bowls of koumis, is not tempting, and when arrack is drunk they become noisy. The young swain was anxious to see his bride, but all applications met with a flat denial from the young lady. He was therefore obliged to adopt the usual course, and seek the aid of her married female relatives. By bribes they were induced to persuade her to visit his yourt; after a display of much coyness she consented, and was led by her friends to his dwelling. Here she was left, and they remained together undisturbed.

The mirth of the festal party had now become "fast and furious;" this induced me to seek quiet on the steppe. Taking three of my people, I started for a ride over the plain to the northward, in the direction of a small lake which was visible in the distance. After proceeding more than an hour, I beheld a large aoul, three or four miles off, towards which I turned; two Kirghis presently met us, and led the way to their chief, whom we found sitting at the door of his yourt, like a patriarch surrounded by his family, having in front his poet singing the great deeds of his race. He rose to receive me, gave me a seat on his own carpet, and then the bard continued his song. I listened long to these wild strains, which delayed my departure till the sun was casting his last rays over the steppe. Night caught us before we had ridden half the distance, rendering it difficult to find our route, as all objects were lost in gloom, and

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it was not till long after dark that we reached our temporary home. The aoul was perfectly quiet, and most of the people were sleeping, excepting the watchmen and their faithful dogs. I sat down at the door of the yourt while the horses were turned loose, and observed several meteors dart across the sky.

The first pale yellowish streaks of light were seen breaking over the steppe, and extending in narrow lines along the horizon, each few minutes adding light and depth to their colour, till they changed through all the shades of orange to a deep crimson, far more brilliant than the ruby. The plain was a dark purple grey, and all objects upon it were indistinct and almost lost in obscurity. As one group of cattle after another rose out of the dusky vapour that shrouded the steppe, the animals appeared magnified, which caused the head and neck of the camel to assume the proportion of some mighty antediluvian monster stalking over the plain. Gradually the whole scene changed, and the commotion in the aoul began; the bulls were up and bellowing, as if calling and marshaling their herds together for the march. Turning in another direction, the horses were seen with their heads thrown aloft and snorting; others were plunging and kicking furiously; while the goats and sheep, with their kids and lambs, seemed just rising into existence. A little later, as the sun rose, the plain was seen covered far and wide with living animals. Soon after daylight long lines of horses and camels were seen wending their way in a south-westerly direction, followed by herds of oxen; the sheep and goats were innumerable, they stretched over miles of country, and were following slowly in the rear. With each herd and flock there were a number of Kirghis, mounted on good horses, and these were galloping to and fro, which added greatly to the general effect. At the aoul, women in their best attire were taking down the yourts and securing them on camels. Their household goods were being packed by the girls and boys, after which they were loaded on camels, bulls, and cows. These children of the steppe are not long in making their preparations to depart in search of new homes; in less than three hours all were ready, when we mounted our horses and rode away.

Not the least curious part of the spectacle was the camels with the willow framework of the yourts hanging from their saddles, giving them the appearance of huge animals with wings just expanding for a flight. Others were loaded with the voilock coverings placed across their backs, and piled up high, and crowned with the circular top of the yourt. The poor animals had burthens far larger than themselves, under which

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they evidently walked with difficulty. Then a refractory bull was seen rushing past, having bales of Bokharian carpets slung on each side of his saddle, with the large iron caldron on the top; others followed with bales, boxes, and various household utensils. The koumis-bag with its contents, so precious to a Kirghis, was secured on a grave and careful bull, who moved along with stately dignity under his delicious load. After these, a number of cows joined in the procession, having two leathern bags secured on their backs, with a young child sitting in each. Mingled with this throng were women dressed in their rich Chinese silk costumes, some crimson, others red, yellow, and green, and the elder females in black velvet kalats. A few of the young girls had fox-skin caps; and others, silk caps richly embroidered in various colours. The matrons had white calico head-gear embroidered with red, and hanging down over their shoulders like hoods. Some of these women were mounted on wild steeds, which they sat and managed with all the ease and skill of a perfect horseman. Girls and boys were mounted on various animals, according to their ages; some of the elder ones on horses, and others on young bulls, and some were even mounted on calves, with felt boots secured to the saddles, into which the young urchins inserted their legs, guiding their beasts by a thong secured to his nose. This was a cavalcade to be seen only in these regions.

A ride over the plain, of somewhat more than two hours, brought us to the foot of the mountains; we crossed a low hill, and beheld the mouth of the pass filled with a mass of animals moving slowly onward. Turning towards the steppe, there appeared no end to the moving herds; they extended far beyond the reach of my vision. All these tribes were marching from various parts of the steppe towards their mountain pastures, and through this pass the enormous multitude must ascend. Having stood a short time watching this living tide roll on, we rode into the valley and joined the moving mass.

The mouth of the pass was about three hundred yards wide, between steep grassy slopes up which it was impossible for either man or animal to climb. The whole width, and as far as I could see, was filled with camels, horses, and oxen; Kirghis were riding among them, shouting and using their whips on any refractory brute who came within their reach. At length we plunged into a herd of horses, with camels in front and bulls and oxen in our rear. We presently passed the grassy slopes to where the gorge narrowed to about one hundred yards in width, with precipices rising on each side six or seven hundred feet. From this mob of quadrupeds there was no escape on either side, and to turn back was utterly impossible,

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as we were wedged in among wild horses. These brutes showed every disposition to kick, but fortunately for us without the power, the space for each animal being too limited. This did not, however, prevent them using their teeth, and it required great vigilance and a constant use of our whips to pass through unscathed.

As we rode on the scene became fearfully grand, the overhanging crags reaching 900 feet above us. Then we had the shouting of men, the cry of the camels, the shrieks and snorting of the horses when bitten by their neighbours, with the bellowing of the bulls and oxen in our rear, a wonderfully savage chorus heightened by the echoes sounding from crag to crag, accompanied by a constant drone in the distant bleating of thousands of sheep.

The bottom of the gorge ascended rapidly, which enabled me to look back, when I saw, about fifty paces in our rear, a phalanx of bulls which no man would dare to face; even the Kirghis kept clear of these. They came steadily on, but the horses near them plunged and reared when the sharp horns gored their haunches. Another danger presently beset us—the Kirghis said a little farther on the bed of the pass was strewn with fallen rocks and small stones. Riding over these would require great care, for if one of our steeds fell, it would be fatal to both horse and rider. Shortly we came to a recess in the precipice, and here two children, mounted on young bulls, had taken refuge; having escaped from the crowd of animals, they had clambered up among the rocks, and the four were looking down on the passing mass in perfect calm. Poor creatures, it was impossible to reach them or afford the least aid; the only thing that could be done was to urge them to remain still where they were.

We were now approaching the rough ground, which was distinctly seen by the motion of the animals before us; hitherto the stream of heads and backs had ran smoothly, now it became rapid, where heads and tails were tossed aloft in quick succession. As the animals bounded over the rocks, several fell and were seen no more. Each few minutes brought us nearer the seeming breakers; at last we were among the rocks using the utmost care, and fortunately all passed safely. Such, however, is the apathy of these Asiatics, that although accidents are often fatal to the people, and many animals belonging to each tribe are killed on their journey to and from the mountains, they never think of removing a single stone. After the herds have passed, whatever remains of camel, horse, or other animal, is gathered up and feasted on by the tribe.

We had been more than four hours ascending this mountain

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gorge, when we reached a part less abrupt. Here we got out of the throng, and, guided by a Kirghis, began to ascend a narrow ravine, which brought us to the foot of some high crags. These compelled us to dismount and ascend on foot, leading our horses with difficulty through a great rent in the rocks. Everything in the gorge below was hidden from our view, still the sounds were heard as they rolled up from beneath. In about an hour we emerged from the chasm nearly at the top of the precipice. A Kirghis led me to some high crags, from which we had a view into the gorge, where we saw the animals still struggling onwards. My guide said it would take those Kirghis who were immediately beneath us more than three hours to reach the head of the pass. Having looked upon this singular scene for a short time, I mounted my steed and shortly reached the plateau. From this point, a ride of about three miles brought us to the top of the gorge, and here we found camels and horses pouring on to the high plain.

We had reached a point just beneath the snow line, about 7000 feet above the level of the sea, and presently it began to rain, while the higher ridges became shrouded in vapour. At a short distance from the head of the pass some Kirghis had pitched their yourts. Here we sought shelter from the pelting storm and dined, remaining a couple of hours in the vain hope that the shower would cease. The stream of countless animals still passed on, attended by the wet and shivering herdsmen, bent on reaching a sheltered valley in which to pass the night. Finding that waiting was useless, I proceeded onward in search of another aoul where we could find pastures for our horses and obtain shelter for the night.

The wind had increased to a gale, with an accompaniment of rain and sleet which soon penetrated our clothing and made our teeth chatter. Occasionally, a break in the dark canopy of vapour gave us hopes of better weather, and showed us the snowy crests of the Ac-tou far above the clouds. It was the snow and glaciers of this region that rendered the blast so cutting as we rode along the high plateau. My guide turned away from the track followed by the Kirghis, and led us along the ridge, for more than an hour, to a point where we began to ascend towards the summit over a very stony track. When near the top, a dense fog came over us, obscuring everything at a few paces distant. This added greatly to our difficulty and danger, as we were not far from the brink of some high precipices which extended along on our left.

After a few minutes spent in consultation, I decided on going forward as preferable to the risk of remaining on this bleak spot in such a night, without shelter or a bush to make a

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fire. Rain and sleet were beating upon us heavily, and the wind was nearly in our teeth. Still we rode slowly on till we reached patches of snow lying among the rocks, which rose up on our right till their summits were lost in the billowing clouds. On our left, at a few paces distant, we beheld black crags jutting out of the vapour beneath us: these told plainly that danger was near. After examining our position, the guide led the way, and I directed him to the west by my compass, where he shortly found the track.

Our difficulty arose from the fog or clouds which were driving past us, sometimes in dense rolling masses, and then in thin vails of vapour, through which we got a glimpse of the lofty crags. The descent was steep, at times over beds of hard snow, in which we found the foot prints of cattle: these assured us that we were on the right path. After going what seemed a considerable distance, we heard dogs on our left: turning our horses, we rode carefully on guided by the sound, and shortly found some Kirghis yourts. My wishes were soon made known, and one of their temporary dwellings was given up to us. These were part of a tribe who, like us, had been caught in the fog, and were compelled to remain and encamp for the night. My finding these people was fortunate, as the fog became more dense, the rain poured down in streams, and darkness soon set in; even the frail yourt on such a night became a comfortable dwelling. We learned that it would take two hours by daylight to descend into the valley, but in this weather our informants assured us that no man could accomplish it. During the evening the wind swept up the narrow valley with great fury, at times almost tearing up the yourt. This and the pattering of the rain, which forced its way through every chink, made all feel thankful to that Providence which had guided us here in safety.

Just as day was breaking, I turned out to examine our position, when I found the clouds still covered all the higher summits to the south. Our little encampment was in a small and narrow valley; on the east and west it was enclosed by precipices of no great elevation; on the south the ground descended rapidly for about three hundred yards to the edge of a deep precipice. To the north the valley extended about four hundred yards up to a ridge of serrated rocks; and towards these I directed my steps, hoping to get a good view of the surrounding region. When I had gained the summit, a view opened out to the north which greatly astonished me. I was standing on some rocky pinnacles, rising over a precipice not less than twelve hundred feet deep, from which it appeared possible to send a rifle ball into the gorge we had ascended yesterday.

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The purity of the atmosphere in these regions renders distance most deceptive; this I had often proved at the cost of a long ride. Sometimes I was placed in rather unpleasant situations, when, having wandered on from one scene to another without taking any note of time, and finding myself far from my companions when the night came on.

From my present elevated position, the steppe appeared boundless, and extending till earth and sky were blended in misty air. Notwithstanding the vast numbers of cattle which ascended yesterday, immense herds were scattered over the plain in all directions, preparing to ascend the pass. While I sat contemplating this scene, the clouds were gradually rising from the mountains to the south, when one rugged ridge after another started into view. At length the base of the snowy chain of the Ac-tou became visible, but the crests were shrouded in the misty vail. Wishing to see something of the route by which I had reached this spot, I proceeded along the ridge, following our track for about half a mile, when I beheld the dangers we had escaped. We had ridden along the brink of a great precipice, obscured by the fog, and over which a camel belonging to our friend had fallen. On my way back to the aoul, I had a splendid view of the great chains running to the westward, and along a magnificent valley lying between the Kara-tou and Ala-tou mountains; some parts of this valley afford good pastures for numerous herds of cattle, which now appeared like swarms of flies at the great depth beneath me. As the eye wandered over the Kara-tou to the vast plain, several rivers were seen meandering along till they were lost either in the sand or formed great morasses, while far beyond these the Balkash was glittering in the sun like polished silver.

When I joined my friends, they were preparing for the descent into the valley. The women had already taken down the yourts, and were placing them on camels; in a short time each beast had got its burthen, when we mounted our horses and left the spot. Our way was along the serrated ridge of granite for several miles, after which we turned towards the east and began to descend into a small valley. The track was rugged and difficult for the camels; in parts the mountain was abrupt, and the ground rendered slippery by the rain. This was rather unpleasant, as several of our horses fell, and some of the people had a flounder in the mire.

In about three hours we reached the track by which the herds had descended into the valley, and found there had been many disasters during the fog. At one spot three camels had gone over a precipice; at another several horses had shared a similar fate. Kirghis were engaged skinning the animals and prepar-

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ing to carry the flesh to the aouls. Proceeding onwards along the edge of some high cliffs, we beheld at every few hundred paces groups of men collecting the dead cattle. Unfortunately, these were not the worst accidents, as I was afterwards informed that many people had been killed; hearing this made me reflect on our escape through such dangers. After riding about ten miles we reached the valley; and just at dusk we arrived at a Kirghis aoul, when the chief received me kindly. I had now reached their summer pastures in the high valleys at the foot of the snowy peaks of the Ac-tou in Chinese Tartary, and about seven thousand feet above the level of the sea. This is the highest point at which the Kirghis obtain food for their cattle.

VIII.—*Contributions to the Minute Ethnology of Europe, with special reference to a treatise by Biondelli, entitled Prospecto Topographico-Statisco delle Colonie Straniere d' Italia.* By R. G. LATHAM, M.D.

THE present paper is laid before the Society for the sake of eliciting facts, and stimulating inquiry, rather than conveying systematically arranged information.

The ethnology of Europe is widely different from that of Asia and Africa, and still more from that of America, Australia, and Polynesia. Indeed, the ruder the population, the stronger the contrast. In Europe, we have so much more light thrown upon all our inquiries, either through the greater accessibility of our materials, or from history, that points come within the field of our observation, that, elsewhere, are impossible and invisible. This justifies us in borrowing a term from the anatomists, and talking about what is here called minute (indeed, we may, if we choose, say microscopic) ethnology.

Of this, there is little out of Europe. With a Siberian, an African, or an American population, we think ourselves fortunate if we get a general outline of its characteristics, so as to be able to attach it to some known class; beyond which we rarely (in the first instance at least) carry our investigations. If we do, we are led to ask whether the stock be pure or mixed; or, if mixed, what with, and in what proportions. Again, the elements of intermixture may themselves be compound; a fact which increases the complexity of our question. With rude, and (as such) comparatively unknown tribes, we rarely, however, go very far in this direction.

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Now, in Europe, we may almost begin with this, the more general phenomena being already known; and, so doing, we may, of course, go further.

The questions which then present themselves are numerous, and in a systematic work upon the principles of ethnology, it would be right and useful to enumerate and arrange them. In a paper like the present, it is sufficient to take up one of them.

The exact extent to which individuals belonging to one ethnological division are modified by coming in contact with the members of another, is a fact of no less complexity than importance. It is complex, because it always takes place in some degree; and it is important, because the whole question of the moral and physical action and reaction which the different varieties of our species may have upon each other, turns upon it. Neither is it difficult to see that it takes place in many different manners. Sometimes the common frontier of two contiguous countries is the field in which it is best observed. Sometimes there is conquest; sometimes migration; sometimes the sale of slaves; sometimes colonization; each and all of which deserve special consideration.

The present paper, however, will be limited to a notice of the last, and will ask what we know and what we have to learn respecting the foreign colonies or settlements in the different countries of Europe. Furthermore, it will be limited to the notice of the colonies or settlements actually existing as foreign elements in an otherwise homogeneous population. That this limitation, provided that we wish to bring the question within any moderate compass, is no more than what is necessary, is obvious. There are colonies upon colonies concerning which the evidence is only historical, *i.e.*, colonies which have so thoroughly become amalgamated with the populations with which they are in contact, as to have lost all definite and undeniable signs of their exotic origin. To deal with these would be to require a somewhat voluminous combination of proof and description; the evidence that they were actually foreign rather than indigenous being required in each case. Other limitations will appear as we proceed.

Actual colonies, then, with their original characteristics definitely preserved, being the subject of our sketch, we begin with our own country, and of it, with the most western part.

Ireland.—In one sense, every Englishman in Ireland is a colonist; but this sense we exclude from our definitions. We exclude also, as has been stated, those divisions of the populations where fusion has taken place. Otherwise, there would be some interesting questions connected with (*e.g.*) the French

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families of Ulster, the Northmen in general, and the Spaniards of Galway, supposing the current doctrine concerning them to hold good; a point upon which no opinion is hazarded.

Scotland.—Here, as in Ireland, we have English, and French, and Norse intermixture, but not in the manner contemplated in the present paper. The same applies to

England.—We have foreigners in abundance, but where they preserve their nationality and language, they are individuals, etc., or families, rather than colonists.

We have also abundant matters for investigation in the allied question, as to the extent to which foreign settlers have become amalgamated with the native population, at least, in respect to their most prominent and tangible characteristics; an investigation which would bring before us Flemings, Italians (Lombard Street), French Protestants (Edict of Nantes), Dutchmen (in the drainage of Lincolnshire, etc.) New Haven fishwomen, Spanish (?) blood in Brighton, Norwegians. Then there is the intermixture of the population within our own boundaries; Irish in Liverpool, Welsh milk-women, and the like. Then there are the Jews, and the Gipsies.

We leave the British Islands with the remark that of colonies in the sense here given to the term, they contain a *minimum* amount.

Scandinavia.—Here we are on the continent, a fact which requires a fresh limitation. In an island there is no frontier. On the continent, there is always room for two contiguous populations, of which the areas may indent each other. We can scarcely say, that when this happens, we have a colony. In some cases, however, *e.g.*, where a natural or a political boundary is crossed, indenting populations may be noticed.

With this preliminary, we take no notice of either the Laps or the Finns of the frontier. We *do*, however, notice those who, surrounded by Norwegians or Swedes, are, like islands on an ocean, actual exceptions to the conditions of things around them. This is the case with

1. The Laps to the south of Finmark. Some of these are Laps of an indented frontier. The southern populations, however, are isolate. The most southern are the Laps of Hedemarken, amounting to fifty, there or thereabouts.

2. The Quains of Finskogen. By Fin, the Norwegian means a Laplander, by Quain, a Finlander. In the northern part of Norway (Finmarkens Amt) where they come in contact with both the Lap and Norwegian, they amount to about 3,000; in southern Norway (chiefly the district of Finskogen, between Sweden and Norway) to about 2,000.

Denmark. The populations of Denmark, which are other

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than Danish, are in the same category with the French of Spitalfields and the fishermen of Newhaven. *i.e.*, foreigners with their chief characteristics obliterated. In the island of Amager, the market-garden of Copenhagen, the dress is still peculiar; but not (I believe) the language.

Northern Germany.—There are some true colonies in Germany; chiefly, I believe, Sclavonic. There are, however, Sclavonic localities with which the true colony must by no means be confounded. In Pomerania, the Kassub, in Lusatia, and part of Brandenburg, the Serbs are the older inhabitants, being no more colonists than the Welsh are colonists in Britain. Then there are the Halloran in Halle; amalgamated with the Germans, of whom I am unable to say whether they represent an original, or an introduced population.

Holland and Belgium.—An irregular frontier, and sporadic foreigners in abundance, but no true colonies; also populations of foreign origin, of which the characteristics have been obliterated. The same I believe to be the case with *France, Spain, Portugal, and Switzerland.*

Thus far the existence of colonies has been the exception rather than the rule. In the south, however, the east, and the south east, we find foreign occupation in all the countries that come under our notice.

Italy.—If Italy stand forth with what may seem undue prominence in a general sketch, it is because the foreign colonies of Italy have been excellently illustrated in the paper of which the heading of the present treatise gives the title; indeed the treatise itself is a commentary upon Biondelli's text.

The foreign colonies in Italy are—1, German; 2, Sclavonic; 3, French; 4, Rumanyo, or Wallachian; 5, Catalonian; 6, Greek; 7, Skipetar, or Albanian; 8, Arabian; not counting the gipsies, of which there are few, nor yet the Jews and Armenians.

The Italy of Biondelli means Corsica and Sardinia, as well as Italy Proper. His colonies, too, include the populations of the French, German, and Sclavonic boundaries; frontagers, rather than true colonists.

Germans.—These are occupants of the slope of Monte Rosa, their villages being those of La Trinita de Gressoney, Giacomo de San Pietro, Giovanni di Gressoney, Schamsil, Zer Trina ed Albezon, and others in Val Lesa, Val Sesia, Val Sermenta, Val Mastollone, and Val Anzasca; in number about 5,800. They are a continuation of the German population of the Swiss canton of the Valais, and have reached farther south than they do now. In the lower part of the several valleys, the origin is reasonably believed to be the same. The dreaded characteristics,

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however, have changed. The villagers, however, in question, speak German.

The Germans of Monte Rosa indent Italy from the *Valais.*

The Germans of the Adige indent it from the *Tirol.* To this division belong the supposed descendants of the Cimbri, or the occupants of the Sette Communi, near Vicenza, and the Tredici Communi, near Verona, to which may be added some other villages.

Sclavonians—of Istria and Carniola. These are frontagers. An outlying population of the Val de Resia, occupant of the village of Rustis, near Resciutta, and on the Tagliamento, is Slavonic. The Slavonic, however, is that of the aborigines, not of any colonists.

French.—These also are frontagers, occupants of the Val d'Aosta.

Rumanyo, or Wallachians.—In the village of Cepich in Istria; in number about 320—shepherds, speaking the same dialects as the Wallachians of the Banat; and believed to have entered Italy about the time of the Ottoman conquest of Constantinople. Other colonies of the same stock have lost their language and more definite characteristics.

Skepetar or Albanians.—Of these there is a vast population in Calabria and Sicily, chiefly of the same date as the Rumanyo. In numbers—

Calabria Ulteriore - -	4,407
——— Citeriore - -	30,812
Basilicata - - -	10,090
Capitanata - - -	13,463
Terra d'Otranto - -	6,844
Abruzzo Ulteriore - -	220
Sicily - - -	19,743
	85,551

Greeks.—Also in Calabria. Numbers 18,000, and upwards. In Corsica, 640.

Catalonians.—In Sardinia, 8,000.

Austria, Bohemia, etc.—Irregularity of frontier and amalgamation are common here. I am unable, however, to state the amount of true colonization; of which the Rumanyo, and Skepetar, and Catalonians of Italy, have given us such typical instances. There is, however (with great irregularity and amalgamation), much of it in Hungary Proper, where it is German, as well as in Cronstadt and other towns of Transylvania. The Banat is eminently a colony, or rather a series of colonies, the population being Slavonic, Jewish, Armenian, and German.

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The Danubian Principalities.—An irregular frontier, with perhaps isolated colonies.

The Ottoman Empire.—Strictly speaking, the Ottomans themselves are the colonists here. Politically, however, they are the masters. The whole country is full of foreign settlements —Greek, Slavonians, Jews, Armenians, Albanians, Wallachians.

Greece.—The chief foreign population is the Albanian, amounting to no less than 173,000. There are doubtless, however, Wallachian and Slavonic settlements also.

Poland.—The foreign elements chiefly German and Hebrew. The details, however, and the extent to which they give true colonies are uncertain.

Russia.—In Russia the populations of the Fin, or Ugrian family, however much they may be isolated, represent aborigines rather than settlers; such being the case with the Permians, Votiaks, etc., etc. Again, the indentations of the frontier are numerous and deep; a fact which excludes from the present paper the Estonians, Lets, etc.

Thirdly, the German occupancy of the Baltic and the Baltic provinces is, like the Muscovite occupancy of the remaining governments, the occupancy of masters rather than colonists.

Fourthly, some of the isolated populations (*e. g.* the Tshud of Olonets, and Novogorod) are colonists in the way that a population of Welshmen in one of the midland counties would be colonists. They are isolated and introduced; but they scarcely represent a new stock or family.

With these abatements, there still remains a great deal of true colonization in European Russia.

Turks.—In the northwestern provinces these must be looked upon as settlers, whatever they may be elsewhere. Their numbers are—

In Vilna	- - -	1,874
Grodno	- - -	849
Kovno	- - -	415
Minsk	- - -	2,120

Bulgarians.—In Bessarabia, Kherson, and Tauris; some of them, perhaps, frontagers.

Servians.—In Bessarabia, Ekaterinoslav, and Kherson, 1,383.

Poles.—Many of these (*e. g.*, the 150,000 of Volhymia) must be looked upon like the Germans of Italy, *i. e.*, as Poles, indenting the Russian area. The 19,149, however, of the Government of St. Petersburgh, are isolated. How far they are sufficiently collected to form a colony, I cannot say.

Rumanyos.—In Ekaterinoslav, and Kherson; those of Podolia and Bessarabia being looked upon as frontagers.

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Mongols.—In the Don Kosaks Government, 20,591. More in Astrakhan, but this is Asiatic.

Greeks.—In Bessarabia, Ekaterinoslav, Podolia, Tauris, Kherson, Tshernigov, 46,773.

Armenians.—In Ekaterinoslav (where they are most numerous), 14,931. In all, 37,676.

Germans.—In almost every Government; in many cases (*e. g.*, in Saratov, to the number of 62,000) true colonists.

Swedes.—In the islands off Esthonia, 4,714. In all, 11,470.

Albanians, etc.—In Bessarabia.

French.—Ditto.

Circassians.—In Don Kosaks.

Jews.—*a.* Talmudic, upwards of 1,000,000,

b. Karact. In Tauris, 4,198. In all near 6000.

Gipsies.—In all, 48,000.

IX.—*On the Physical Character of the Natives of some parts of Italy, and of the Austrian Dominions, etc.* By John Beddoe, B.A., M.D.

Through the kindness of my friend Mr. Cull, I was enabled, about two years ago, to lay before this Society the results of my observations on the physical characters of the Ottoman Turks, Armenians, Greeks, and some other peoples of the Levant. Since that time, I have continued to make comparative observations on such European peoples as I have been able to visit, or as chance has thrown me among. Those whose results I have now to submit to the Society were made in 1856 and 1857, during a residence of some months in Vienna, a short tour in Lombardy and Central Italy, an excursion to Pesth, and some other journeys. I cannot, therefore, lay claim to having enjoyed any very special opportunities for acquainting myself with the physical characteristics of the people of Austria and Italy; but, as I have endeavoured to turn those opportunities to the best account, I hope to be able to furnish some trustworthy information on the subject.

In these recent investigations, as in all previous ones, I have given my attention chiefly to the colours of the hair and of the iris, not because I originally entertained any exaggerated ideas as to their importance as indications of race, but because, though they are often talked about, and made the subject of sweeping generalisations, and the bases of ethnological theories, I could not discover that any systematic numerical observations had ever been made upon them.

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I take notice of adults only, omitting children and youths, in whom the hair is never so dark as it subsequently becomes. I make no distinction between males and females, as light hair appears to be about equally common among the two sexes, and light eyes certainly are so. I make but three classes of eyes, viz. light, including blue and light grey; dark, including black, brown, and hazel; and intermediate or neutral, comprising dark grey, green, and yellow. By a cross division founded on the hue of the hair, whether red, fair, brown, dark brown, or black, I obtain altogether fifteen classes, to one of which I have no difficulty in referring any individual met with.

I have not neglected to direct attention to other physical characteristics, such as the prevailing types of feature and forms of skull; but as observations on such points are far more difficult and uncertain, and cannot be brought to the test of numbers and shewn in a tabular form, except on a comparatively small scale, I put forward any remarks on these matters with extreme diffidence.

In no capital in Europe, probably, except Constantinople, does one find so heterogeneous a population as in Vienna. In spite of the excessive rate of mortality there, the population increases rapidly, by immigration, the current of which sets from the north and west. Of the women delivered in the great Lying-in Hospital at Vienna, in 1855, 44 per cent. were natives of Bohemia or Moravia, and only 6 of Hungary, though the frontier of that country is so near. The Bohemians and other Western Slaavs may therefore be very well studied at Vienna.

Perhaps the fact which can be most confidently predicated concerning them is, that they are almost brachykephalic. The shape of their heads seems to correspond, for the most part, with that assigned by Retzius to the Sclavonic race in general; and that of their faces with that by M. Edwards, as follows.

"The contour of the head, viewed in front, approaches nearly to a square—the height surpasses a little the breadth; the top is sensibly flattened, and the direction of the jaw is horizontal." (So far there is an agreement in all respects with the Roman type.) "The length of the nose is less than the distance from its base to the chin; if it has any appreciable curvature, it is slightly concave and turned up; the lower part is rather large, and the extremity rounded." (I cannot endorse this last point with any confidence.) "The eyes are on the same line, and, if they have any particular character, are small. The eyebrows are thin, and very near the eyes, particularly at the internal angle; the mouth, which is not salient, has thin lips, and is placed near the nose."

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In complexion I found them to be, as a rule, darker than the Germans. Black hair and black eyes, which are scarcely ever seen between the Elbe and the Rhine, unless in cities, are common in Bohemia, while red hair is less frequent than in Germany. They agree, however, with the Germans in the frequency of a muddy yellow, or light hazel hue, of the iris, which is generally combined with light or brown hair. Bohemia is an elevated country, and the average annual temperature is considerably less than that of Upper Austria and Bavaria in general; nor can I see any reason for attributing this comparative darkness to any climatic agencies. I saw comparatively few Moravians, only about sixty. Many of them were black-haired, and nearly half had dark eyes. There was much diversity of feature among them: in some, the head approached a pyramidal form. Among the Horaks of the Bohemian border, I saw men with narrower faces, and long and well-shaped noses.

Still further east lie the Slovaks, extending from the Danube along the Waag to the frontiers of Gallicia, and occupying isolated districts in the proper Modyar country. They have a very recognizable physical character. I cannot refrain from quoting Mr. Paget's description of them, which has been compared by Dr. Prichard with that of their supposed ancestors given by Procopius. "The Slovaks," says he, "are in general about the middle height, strongly formed, of a light complexion, with broad and coarse features, half shaded by their long flaxen hair. In some particular districts, there are found among them singularly fine and handsome men." He elsewhere excepts from this description the travelling tinkers and potters of Austria, who come from the neighbourhood of Treutsin, and whom he calls black haired. Dr. Bright, in his *Travels in Hungary*, speaks of the long, matted, black hair of the Slovaks, seen between Pressburg and Tyrnau. I unfortunately lost some notes taken in Hungary, and relating partly to the Slovaks seen there. In Vienna I noted only thirty, mostly Treutsiners; and I did not observe much difference between these and other Slovaks, except that they were, if possible, a shade dirtier. They all had rounder faces and heads than other Slavonians, with short, round, cocked noses; light grey eyes and flaxen hair were very prevalent: out of thirty, nine had flaxen hair, and eighteen had light eyes. One, however, had black hair; and I suspect that further observations would have shown that colour to be far from rare. The Treutsiners are the most picturesque figures to be seen in Vienna, and are known at a glance by their broad, slouched hats, sandals, and ragged brown cloaks; by their lazy, slouching gait, careless expression, and peculiar physiognomy.

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Silesians are numerous in Vienna; many of them resemble the Slovaks; but black or blackish hair seems more common among them, as it certainly is among the Poles, and the Russniaks of Gallicia, where it seems to amount to more than twelve per cent.

That the population of Saxony and Brandenburg—though for centuries they have called themselves Germans and used that language—are in blood more Slavon than Teuton, does not, I think, admit of any doubt. It is impossible that Germany Proper, incessantly harassed and depopulated as it was by intestine warfare, can have sent across the Elbe and Saale, in the course of three or four centuries, a number of emigrants sufficient to swamp the native population of these extensive provinces, as well as to furnish a military aristocracy to Prussia and Livonia. In Altenburg and the Lausitz communities of acknowledged Wends subsist to this day; but the intervening Saxons, and the German-speaking people of Brandenburg, have the appearance of being very near akin to them. The prevailing form of cranium, even at Berlin and Leipsic, appeared to me to be Slavonic, and perhaps more generally than at Dresden, Meissen, and Wittenberg, as though the Germans had made haste to occupy the more important positions and richer lands along the Elbe. In all these places the comparative rarity of red, and frequency of dark brown and even black hair, confirm, if it need confirmation, the Slavonism of the inhabitants.

It may be well to speak here of the eastern branch of the Slaves, of which, however, I have seen comparatively little. The few Russians I have notes of were mostly Great Russians, from Moscow, Kaluga, and the neighbouring governments. They exhibited the Slavonian type, as already described, in perfection; as for their complexion, by far the greater part had grey eyes and brown hair; but several had brown eyes and dark hair.

On the coast of Thrace, somewhere north of Constantinople, is a colony of Cossacks who fled from their country, I believe, towards the end of the last century, and were settled on the Black Sea by the Porte. I once met with a party of them at Constantinople, whither they bring from time to time the produce of their fisheries. They were very fine men, square of body and square of face; their eyes were light, and hair brown. The Bulgarians are tolerably numerous in and around Constantinople. Those I saw were mostly well-grown men, with features rather Tartar than Slavonic, the prominent cheekbone being more common than the square jaw. Some had blue eyes, and brown, or even flaxen hair; but more were swarthy, with dark-brown or blackish hair. Of Bosnians I saw a few,

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who were all square made, burly men, with oval or squarish faces, not in the least like those of the Ottomans, whom they agree with in religion and resemble in dress. Light eyes and brown hair preponderated among them over darker hues. Most of the few Croats I have seen, on the other hand, were dark-complexioned, and had oval faces and regular features. The personal descriptions given of the Croats by travellers differ so remarkably, that I suspect great physiognomical differences must exist between different districts in Croatia.

In Carniola I noted about one hundred and thirty individuals; a sufficient number to found a pretty decided opinion upon. They were of tall stature. A Carinthian gentleman, who took some interest in ethnological subjects, told me that in his (the neighbouring) province, the people of German blood were of shorter and thicker build, and generally of lighter complexion. The heads of the Carniolans, as well as their faces, are of an oblong form; in complexion they are not, as I expected to find them, notably darker than the Bohemians.

Speaking generally of all the Slavonic tribes I have had opportunities of observing, but with reference to their complexional characters only, I should say, that they differ from the Germanic race in the frequency of black and the rarity of red hair; and from the British, Walloon, and most other supposed Kelts, in the smaller proportion of light and of dark-grey eyes, and generally speaking, of red hair, though that is rare also among the Walloons. The Celtic combination of light eyes with dark hair and eyelashes, is seldom seen among the Slaves.

I come now to the Modyors, or Hungarians Proper; and much regret that I have so few data whereon to rest my opinions concerning them. As I have already stated, they are not numerous in Vienna; but I inspected about forty of them in the military hospital there. Subsequently, I made an excursion to Pesth; and though that is to a great extent a Germanized city, there and at Waitzen I took note of a considerable number of persons. These notes were unfortunately lost before I could look over and make abstracts of them. The Modyors occupy in Europe an ethnological position somewhat similar to that of the Ottoman Turks; and a similar difference exists in the opinions entertained by ethnologists as to the physical character of these two races, and in the theories which have been founded on these opinions. Dr. Prichard says of them,—"In the course of a thousand years"—that is, since their occupation of Hungary,—"they have become a handsome people, of fine stature, and regular European features, and have the complexion prevalent in that part of Europe

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where they dwell." He, however, quotes Mr. Paget's account of them, who speaks of their very dark hair. Compare this account with that of Edwards, which agrees better with that given by most travellers, of the majority of the people. "In the Magyar," says he, "the head is nearly round; forehead little developed, low, and bending; eyes placed obliquely, the external angle elevated; nose short and flat; mouth prominent and lips thick; neck very strong, so that the back of the head appears flat, forming almost a straight line with the nape; beard weak and scattering; stature short." Another observant author, though allowing them a tall stature, speaks of their small eyes, prominent brows and high cheekbones; and many speak of a Tatar-like physiognomy. My own observations, so far as they went, tended to convince me of the general correctness of Edwards' description. Without having any particular grounds to offer for my belief, I suspect that the tall Hungarian grenadiers, of whom we have all heard, may have been drawn from among the southern Slaves, or from other districts, wholly or partially non-Modyar.* Oblique eyes are certainly very common, as they are among the Osmanli. At Waitzen I was particularly struck with the frequency of this peculiarity, with the breadth of the cheekbones, and the general resemblance of the people to the Anatolian Turks, with whose features I was familiar. I see no reason for ascribing this to an infusion of Turkish blood, during the wars of the great Suleiman and his successors. These were not of a nature such as would introduce a new population; moreover, they were carried on to a great extent by Bosnian and Arnaut Mussulmans, and half-Slavonic Janissaries. But I suppose there can be little doubt that the Khazars, and at a later period, the Kumans, brought into Hungary a considerable amount of Turkish blood; and with all deference to Dr. Latham, there seems no reason to doubt that they, as well as the Ugrians, brought with them their wives and families, according to the custom of Oriental nomads. The previous population of the plains of Hungary, whether Avar, Gepid, or Slavonian, was probably very scanty; but intermixture with Slavon and German blood would, no doubt, take place to a considerable extent, especially during the tenth century, when the nation was eminently aggressive. We have now, therefore, to deal with a population originally Turk and Ugrian, but strongly crossed with Slavonic and slightly with Germanic blood. And it certainly seems to me that the present characters of the race may be accounted for by this descent, without attributing much to influence of a European climate and European civilization on

* Count Pulszky told me they were mostly Slovaks.

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the barbarians of the Ural. The round head of the modern Magyar is a sort of compromise between the square one of the Slave, and the pyramidal one of the pure Turk.

I think people are apt to be misled when they hear the Hungarians spoken of as a handsome people, by the idea that, to a European eye, no other than a European type of beauty is possible. This is certainly an error. Pallas says he saw, even among the Kalmucks, men whom he considered handsome. And I have myself observed among the Turkomans of Anatolia men whose skulls and features were of distinctly Turanian type, but who were considered by myself and other Englishmen to possess a high degree of manly beauty. The prevailing complexion among the Hungarians I saw was decidedly dark; but, as has been well remarked by a previous observer, the shade does not resemble those that prevail in southern Europe. In the peasant women it is a ruddy brown, by no means to be called olive. Dark eyes are as numerous as light ones, and those of a dark-grey, neutral tint are particularly common; indeed, the combination of dark grey eyes with dark hair, which is so often seen among the Irish, is more common in Hungary and Lower Austria than in any other country or district I have ever visited. As among the Bulgarians, light hair is by no means uncommon in persons considered to be of pure blood; but dark brown prevails, and black is more common than anywhere else north of the Alps, except among the Crim Tartars. Red is very rare.

The population of Lower Austria, or at all events of its eastern part, is a peculiar one. There are some circumstances in its history which would lead one to think it possible that traces of the Avar blood might be present here. Up to the year 736 the Avars, having entered into possession of the lands vacated by the emigration of the Lombards, retained the whole country east of the Enns. In that year the Bavarians drove them from the Enns, and beyond the hilly region of the Kahlenberg, a little to the west of Vienna. Here the boundary long remained; and here was drawn the outermost of the nine fortified rings, pierced and destroyed by Charlemagne. In the beginning of the ninth century the subjugated Avars, harassed by their former subjects, the Slovaks, sought and obtained permission to settle in the march of Austria; and here lands were assigned to them, divided into two districts, of which the eastern (according to Thierry) was called Avaria, and the western, Hunnia. These Avar settlers were perhaps incorporated by the next wave of eastern conquerors, the Modyars; at all events, it was not until the year 1050 that the country between the Kahlenberg and the Leitha was finally detached from Hungary. It was in the eastern part of Lower Austria

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that those two remarkable crania were discovered, which are by some supposed to have been the skulls of Avars, and of which, under that name, Dr. Fitzinger of Vienna has published an account, illustrated with drawings.

Now, the present inhabitants of this district, whatever else they may be, are certainly not Germans; at least if we allow them to be so, we must wholly disregard the evidence furnished by their physical character. Their skulls appeared to me for the most part rather short antero-posteriorly; and in some there was an evident approach to the pyramidal form. The face and cheekbones were rather broad, and the eyes small and deep-set. The complexion was often dark, the hair generally so; and the number of light scarcely exceeded that of dark eyes. Eyes of neutral tint were very common, as was the combination of dark grey eyes with dark hair, which I have mentioned as so remarkably frequent in Hungary. The natives of Vienna itself are more often fair, and German features are more common there.

In Italy I had not the advantage which Vienna had afforded, in its huge civil and military hospitals, of ascertaining the place of birth of every person noted; moreover, the bulk of my observations were made in large cities, where the population is much more mixed and migratory. I should be disposed to arrange the Italians I saw into six classes, founded on the diversities of their crania, features, and complexions. These classes would include—1. The People of Venice and Padua; 2. The Piedmontese, with the Lombards and Genoese, and perhaps also the Florentines. 3. Those of Rome, Tivoli, Frascati, Albano, etc. 4. Those of Fondi, Itri, Mola, and the country thence to Capua and Naples. 5. Those of Naples, Sorrento, Salerno, etc. 6. The Maltese.

1. The Venetian type is familiar to most of us, as rendered in portraits and historical pieces by well-known painters of the local school. These exhibit square and heavy frames, bulky and full of flesh, as might beseem the citizens of a rich and luxurious republic. Now-a-days, wealth and luxury have departed from Venice; nowhere are the wages of labour lower, or the people much more poorly fed; yet the physical type is much the same as it was then. The head is short, quite Slavonian in form; the face rather oblong than oval, with full cheeks and heavy jaws; the nose is rarely arched. The frame of body corresponds to the face. Has the mild, humid climate aught to do with all this? I cannot say, not knowing any other district fitted to supply us with a comparative test. But standing on the Riva dei Schiavoni (the Slavonian Quay), and observing how the Slaves of Dalmatia and Istria presented a very similar

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physical type, and how this was common to most other Slavonians, and considering that the lower orders of Venice must have been continually recruited from the opposite coast, I could not help attributing it, in part at least, to another cause, and wondering whether the resemblance of the names Veneti and Venedi was really anything more than a chance coincidence. If I may judge from only one hundred individuals noted, the Venetians have darker hair than many other Italians; and dark eyes preponderate more here than anywhere else, except about Rome and at Malta.

2. In Lombardy and Piedmont, what Edwards calls the Cimbrian type, with elongated skull, face, and nose, seems to predominate. In Verona, if anywhere, one may imagine he sees indications of the true Lombard race. Regarding the Genoese as Ligurians, and suspecting the Ligurians to have been an Allophylian race, I expected to find them very different in appearance from the mainly Celtic Lombards, the difference exhibiting itself partly in a shorter and broader form of skull and face, with lower forehead and blacker hair. I could not, however, make out any very great difference. But in the market-place of Novi, and on the line of railway leading thence to Genoa, I saw a good number of peasants answering to the description just given. Mrs. Gray says, the Tuscan peasants resemble their ancestors, or predecessors, as portrayed in some Etruscan tombs. Speaking of some vases, etc., found at Clusium, she says:—"What stamps these faces with the highest interest is the fact, that they preserve the very same character of countenance which distinguishes the Tuscans of the present day, of whom they are certainly the types, if not the direct ancestors. The vertical diameter of the head is short; the ears somewhat high, the forehead broad and low, the nose aquiline, and the chin rounded." I thought the Florentines rather more resembled the Piedmontese than the Romans. The eyes are very often light in this division: in Lombardy and parts of Piedmont the light eyes amount, apparently, to nearly half the whole number. This does not apply to Genoa, and still less to Florence. The hair is lighter than in the other divisions, except the fourth. Red hair is, perhaps, not quite so rare as elsewhere; but indeed it is so exceptional in Italy, that meeting with it at all may be regarded as accidental.

3. The Roman type is pretty well known. In this division the hair and eyes are generally very dark; perhaps this is not so notable at Frascati, which was a Tuscan colony, and seems never to have received a new population.

Beyond Terracina, we enter on the 4th division, which ex-

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tends all the way to Naples. I will not attempt any description of the physiognomy that prevails in this region; and will only say, that the faces are less broad and less strongly marked than those seen in and near Rome, and that many of them have nothing of what we are accustomed to call Italian about them. But what I can state positively is, that everywhere along the Terracina and Naples road, but most of all at Mola di Gaeta, the complexions are fairer, and the hair lighter, than in any part of Italy that I visited. At Mola, black hair amounted to less than 150 per mille; while at Venice, Velletri, Tivoli, and Terracina, it was as much as 400. As I first observed the phenomenon at Fondi, which is situated in a low, marshy, malarious plain, I was inclined to attribute it to local causes; but when the same thing was observed at Itri, among the hills, at Mola, on the coast, and on the Campanian hills, I was obliged to abandon that idea. So far as I know, there is no particular reason to suspect the presence here of any intruding race of xanthous complexion. Formiæ may have been a Greek colony, but that would not help us much. I found in a German guidebook a statement, that Gaeta was remarkable for its blonde population; but I did not visit that place, and do not know whether such is the case. I have not been able to find any allusion to this remarkable fact in any English work, though I have consulted a good many.

5. On the shores of the Bay of Naples, and about Salerno, the hair, eyes, and complexion grow darker again, though with more exceptions than in the neighbourhood of Rome.

6. My last division contains the Maltese only,—a distinct people, who cannot with strict propriety be styled Italians, as they differ from that nation as much in language as in physical character. Neither do they resemble in person the Moors of the opposite African coast, to whose language their own is more allied. I had a good opportunity of satisfying myself on this point, as Valetta, when I was there, was full of Tunisian and other Moorish pilgrims, waiting an opportunity to ship themselves for Egypt and perform the haj. Their tall forms and fine Arab countenances were not less different from the short, unshapely figures, round heads, and broad faces of the Maltese, than were the flowing garments of the former from the scanty and succinct ones of the latter. The roundness of the Maltese heads, and the flatness of their occiputs, were corroborated by a visit to a hatter's shop. Though very low in stature, the Maltese have large hands and feet. They are of very dark complexion, and a large majority of them have black hair and very dark eyes.

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TABLE I.—AUSTRIA.

PLACES.	Number of Observations.	Light Eyes.					Neutral Eyes.					Dark Eyes.				
		Hair.					Hair.					Hair.				
		Red.	Fair.	Brown.	Dark.	Black.	Red.	Fair.	Brown.	Dark.	Black.	Red.	Fair.	Brown.	Dark.	Black.
Vienna, natives	99	25*	116	212	142	—	—	20	76	66	—	—	—	66	212	65
Lower Austria, do.	149	—	87	215	40	7	7	10	84	111	23	—	—	64	271	81
Bohemia, Czecks.....	160	6	103	275	113	3	6	25	63	81	6	—	6	44	191	78
Moravia, do.	58	—	138	199	95	34	17	—	17	17	35	—	—	69	267	112
Modyors	45	—	22	200	156	45	—	—	45	111	22	—	11	33	222	133
Gallicia, etc.	63	—	79	222	126	32	—	32	103	103	—	16	—	72	118	95
Silesia	29	—	179	179	143	—	—	35	71	35	—	—	—	143	107	107
Slovaks.....	30	—	267	150	150	33	—	33	100	—	—	—	—	50	217	—
Styria, etc.	231	30	156	356	119	7	—	4	31	78	—	—	—	63	130	26
Krain	134	11	86	359	104	7	—	15	41	63	—	—	—	49	224	41
Southern Slaves	23	—	—	131	130	—	—	43	44	174	—	—	—	109	239	130
Bulgarians	20	—	150	250	50	—	—	—	50	50	—	—	—	100	200	150
Vienna, gen. population	1250	16	97	278	109	4	4	9	76	65	3	3	6	68	218	44

* The numbers in this and the following table have all been reduced to their proportion per mille.

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TABLE II.—ITALY.

PLACES.	Number of Observations.	Light Eyes.					Neutral Eyes.					Dark Eyes.				
		Hair.					Hair.					Hair.				
		Red.	Fair.	Brown.	Dark.	Black.	Red.	Fair.	Brown.	Dark.	Black.	Red.	Fair.	Brown.	Dark.	Black.
Mola	150	3	63	170	120	3	7	—	30	77	7	—	7	53	327	133
Lago Maggiore	80	6	44	187	131	19	12	13	37	56	31	—	—	50	288	125
Between Terracina and Naples, excl. Mola	280	7	46	139	143	25	4	7	30	86	23	—	7	54	290	139
Verona, Brescia, Milan, etc.	160	13	19	191	150	59	—	—	19	81	25	6	—	47	203	187
Genoa	450	4	21	121	133	11	2	1	21	87	18	2	2	51	337	188
Florence	134	7	30	97	82	7	—	7	23	90	15	7	—	49	358	228
Novi, etc.	44	—	—	68	159	—	—	11	34	102	34	—	—	68	330	194
Naples	181	8	31	124	83	19	—	—	28	47	36	11	—	31	279	303
Frascati	126	—	16	67	131	32	—	—	20	83	32	—	16	36	337	230
Venice, etc.	100	—	30	90	65	35	10	10	20	40	10	—	5	80	240	365
Sorrento, etc.	96	—	16	94	125	47	—	—	42	62	21	—	—	68	208	317
Albano	50	20	20	80	80	—	—	—	40	90	50	—	—	20	270	330
Rome	70	—	—	114	107	7	—	—	14	29	14	—	—	43	343	329
Salerno, etc.	254	6	29	81	126	22	—	—	16	73	26	—	—	20	293	309
Velletri	67	—	—	30	60	45	—	7	22	90	45	7	30	52	261	350
Roman peasants	62	—	48	48	89	24	—	—	16	81	48	—	—	48	250	347
Ligurian peasants	24	—	—	83	250	125	—	—	42	42	83	—	—	—	188	187
Terracina	65	—	46	62	62	—	—	—	—	62	15	—	—	46	276	430
Tivoli	140	7	11	43	83	21	—	—	14	80	36	—	7	14	306	378
Malta	130	8	15	70	45	15	—	—	30	62	15	—	—	30	140	570

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X.—*On the Method of Measurements, as a Diagnostic Means of distinguishing Human Races, adopted by Drs. Scherzer and Schwarz in the Austrian Circumnavigatory Expedition of the "Novara"*. By Joseph Barnard Davis, Esq.

Weight and measure have been very frequently applied as means to determine the physical proportions of different human races, and to ascertain their essential diversities. But it may well be doubted whether they have ever been employed in that systematic and comprehensive manner which will afford the results they are capable of yielding. Travellers have generally contented themselves with speaking in indefinite comparative terms of the people with whom they have come into contact. But few have submitted any considerable number of these people to the test of measurement, and thus ascertained their dimensions. Anthropology stands in need of many more accurate and extended observations to derive the full results from these sources of knowledge.

The subject itself is a large one, and some have confined themselves to one branch of it, some to others. Where actual measurements have been carried out, many have contented themselves with taking the *stature* of a few or a number of the people; others have besides ascertained the lengths of the limbs; and a few have subjected the head to a series of superficial measurements.

As we are fully assured that this latter division of the body is the seat of those faculties which lie at the base of all the peculiarities of human races, bearing essentially and intimately upon their manners and customs, all their institutions, their religious impulses, their degree of civilizibility, and the developement to which it has attained, it is not surprising that it should have attracted the chiefest attention. Besides the superficial measurements of the head, a more extensive series of observations has been made upon the bony skull itself, with a view of determining its relative proportions, for comparison in the same race or amongst different races.

Many observers, advancing a step nearer, have endeavoured to ascertain, by measure and by weight, the *internal capacity* of this marble palace. And, lastly, some have laboriously devoted their inquiries to the great central mass of the nervous system, and availed themselves of the opportunities that have occurred to them to determine the size and the weight of the brain and its different parts. As this last investigation comes nearest of all to the specialities of human beings, who are so finely discriminated by Professor Owen as *Archencephala*, it is to be regretted that the occasions for research among distinct

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races are so few, and have been so little availed of, and the investigation itself is so elaborate and nice, that hitherto this most interesting part of anthropological anatomy is, as it were, a *tabula rasa*, to use the language of one of the most laborious inquirers in this branch of science, Professor Huschke, of the University of Jena.

It is, however, fortunate that gauging the internal capacity of the skull should afford the means of so accurate an approximation to the volume and the weight of the brain; and thus for the comparison of these important points among the different families and tribes of men.

Hence the labours of Tiedemann, the distinguished physiologist, who, with a very amiable design, undertook to show that the brain of the Negro was not smaller than that of the European—an attempt similar to that of the late Sir William Hamilton. Tiedemann might have succeeded in impressing us with his own conclusion, had he not published the Tables on which this conclusion was based, and which themselves refute such an erroneous opinion. To Tiedemann succeeded Professor Morton, of Philadelphia, and others. Among the most recent is Professor Huschke, of Jena, one of whose results of his estimation of the capacity of the skull and of the size of the brain, is, that the Germanic races, among whom through our Anglo-Saxon forefathers we rank as one great branch, have the largest brains of any people. They distinctly exceed the French in this respect.

That great diversities, capable of metrical appreciation, prevail among human races, is very well known. Some of the tribes of North American Indians are remarkable for their great stature. Catlin assures us that the men among the *Crows*, whose hair will frequently reach the calves of their legs, are most of them six feet or more. Other tribes are of a decidedly lower stature. Of the gigantic Patagonians of South America, the most extravagant accounts have been given by travellers. But Captain King affirms them, upon measurement, to be from five feet ten inches to six feet high, which is supported by the statement of M. D'Orbigny, that some are six feet three and a half inches, and that the medium stature is above five feet eight inches English. On the contrary, the average height of the Bushman is only four feet four inches. And, in the recent visits to the Andaman Islands, the inhabitants are spoken of as "dwarf Negrillos" and as "men of middle size," but an individual, who was measured, gave a stature of four feet nine inches and a half.* This gives a range of very nearly two feet

* Selections from the *Records* of the Government of India. No. xxv, 1859.

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between the tallest and the least races of men we are acquainted with. And within these, at least twenty inches, are comprised the other races of mankind. Some, like some tribes of the Negritos, averaging about four feet eight inches. Others, as the so-called Malay races, ascending to a mean of five feet three inches. But among the Negrito tribes of the Pacific themselves there is, as that eminent ethnologist, Mr. Crawford, has clearly shown, a great diversity of stature. They dwell in islands scattered over a large extent of ocean, and although some tribes do not reach five feet in height, others, as those of New Caledonia, attain to six feet, and individuals among them even more. Thus, in stature alone, a very great diversity prevails. And it is remarkable that tribes in close proximity to each other, frequently exhibit startling contrasts. Dr. Livingstone, whose opportunities were so extraordinary, had he been an ethnologist, observed in the plains of the interior of Southern Africa, scattered among the Kafirs, who are a tall, fine and robust race, the hordes of the diminutive Bushmen. He was deeply impressed with what he saw, so contrary to all his preconceptions; and expresses his great surprise that such dissimilar races should be everywhere scattered about the country, without being mingled, where they have dwelt for unlimited ages, exposed to all the same influences of air, climate, food, &c. The tall Patagonians, and some tribes of Fuegians, distinguished for their dwarf stature, afford a similar example of contrast.

The brothers Schlagintweit, following in the train of Mr. Hodgson, the learned philologist of the sub-Himálayan races, carried on an extensive series of metrical observations on the tribes of the Himalaya and of India. Many curious results, chiefly pointing to the different proportions of parts of the bodies and limbs of these people from those of Europeans, have been attained, which will be published in the ethnological portion of their projected work. After ascertaining the weight of the individual and his strength, by means of the dynamometer, they made from twenty-five to twenty-eight different measurements, chiefly of the head and of other parts of the body and limbs. But Drs. Scherzer and Schwarz have striven, by a more complex and complete system of observation and measurement, to gain an image of the size and form of the individual and of all his parts. Thus, not merely to subserve the purposes of the anatomist, the physiologist and the ethnologist, but those of the artist also. Their more ambitious object of obtaining, in this way, to a natural classification of human races, is an evidence of laudable zeal; but we can hardly hope that their labours can do more than contribute

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towards the solution of this difficult problem, although it ought to be mentioned that the late Baron Al. von Humboldt, a short time before his death, expressed his great satisfaction with the system of measurements of Drs. Scherzer and Schwarz, by which, he thought, we may at length arrive at a safer result in distinguishing and determining human races than by any other means.

After recording the age, weight, height, strength, colour of the hair and eyes, and number of the pulsations of the radial artery, they divide their measurements into three sections, those of the *head*, the *trunk*, and the *extremities*; and of these they take no less than seventy different dimensions in all, by means of different instruments. Their external measurements of the head are the most complete that have ever been employed. They embrace the face as well as other parts of the head, and by means of a perpendicular line with plummet, and a small metre-scale, they are able to ascertain pretty correctly the profile of the countenance. The number of their different measurements of and about the *head*, consisting of superficial distances, diameters, circumferences, &c., amounts to thirty-one, those of the *trunk* to eighteen, and those of the *extremities* to twenty-one. When the frigate *Novara* reached Sydney, these gentlemen printed an account of their system of measurements "for private circulation" among men of science, which is preceded by a number of ingenious observations. In these they dwell upon the ease with which travellers intuitively discriminate the different nations and tribes of mankind; and yet the difficulty in some selected individuals, especially when the eye is deceived by a substitution of dress; and express great confidence in a more minute examination by a systematic method of measurements. They insist, with equal confidence, that nature must recognise a definite plan by which man's different types are formed and distinguished; and conclude that we should dedicate the same amount of study and inquiry to the systematic arrangement of our own species, as has long been applied to thousands of species of vegetables and animals. In the course of these introductory remarks they mention their examination of the Chinese inmates of the prison at Hong Kong. Among these they found persons belonging to the *Hakka tribe*, with stout and vigorous constitutions, fine well-shaped aquiline or long and straight noses, and a form of the eyes not resembling the specific obliquity of other Chinese. As criminals they had been deprived of their tails, and Drs. Scherzer and Schwarz affirm that they had such a resemblance to the figures of some Europeans of the lower class, that, by a change of dress, they might pass amongst us without being recognised.

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They also mention how successfully Gützlaff, Medhurst and others have traversed the empire in a Chinese dress without detection. And, no doubt, there are individuals so capable of assuming, and, as it were, substituting the manners and expressions of others, that the ordinary and slight attention which is paid to persons on a journey and among numbers, does not suffice to discriminate them. Still *the rule* must run counter to such a confusion, or the statement of the Austrian voyagers could not be true—that an anthropologist of the island of Java is able, at first view, to classify most of the Malay tribes inhabiting the larger and smaller islands of the Indian Archipelago, without ever mistaking. And the very remarkable account of the Abbé Huc proves that, if there are differences among the races of men too subtle to be detected by the eye, yet they are not the less certainly appreciable. He informs us that he and his companion successfully eluded the detection of the unsuspecting or inattentive Chinese, but that to the Chinese *dogs* they always stood at once revealed as Europeans, by their peculiar smell. "The dogs barked continually at us, and appeared to know that we were foreigners." This is not the proper time to refer to the distinguishable odours of the different races of mankind which travellers allude to. Huc said he could easily distinguish those of the Negro, the Malay, the Tartar, the Thibetan, the Hindoo, the Arab, and the Chinese. Indeed it is the same with those having a delicate sense of smell, as to the French and other European races. We have been informed, on the authority of one who has seen much of the North American Indians, that they describe an odour, to them peculiarly disgusting, as being attached to Jews; a statement but little accordant with the extravagant hypothesis, which would derive the Indians themselves from the Ten Tribes. And, with respect to the fact of the penetrating and offensive scent attached to men, more especially to civilised men, Mr. Galton and others who have traversed desert countries teeming with wild animals, give distinct and prominent testimony, which testimony is, in truth, not very complimentary to us.

Finally, it may be mentioned, that by a recent communication from Dr. Scherzer, we are informed that during the cruize of the *Novara*, about two hundred individuals of different races, but of about the same age, males and females, were subjected to measurement. The whole number of measures taken amount to nearly twelve thousand. Dr. Scherzer adds, that he does not consider these observations sufficient, but merely as the commencement of a system of thorough metrical examination;—that the paper on measurements has been trans-

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lated into different languages, and copies of it left in the hands of physicians and other men of science in the different places and islands visited by the Expedition, who promised to complete the observations on the aborigines, and to forward the results to Europe;—that the measurement already effected embrace those made on Negroes, Malays, Mongols, Papuans, and Indians;—and that the greatest number were taken on individuals in the Nicobar Islands, Batavia, where natives of almost all the islands of the Indian Archipelago were met with, Manilla, Hong Kong, Sydney (Austral Negroes), New Zealand, Tahiti (where were aborigines of New Caledonia and Norfolk Island), Chili, and Peru. The results obtained by the extensive series of measurements thus procured will shortly be published to the world in the volumes now in preparation at Vienna. The history of the important voyage of the *Novara*, a popular illustrated work from the journals of the commanders, Commodore Wüllustorf and Dr. Scherzer, may be expected to be issued from the imperial printing-office, in German, to be followed by an English translation, in the early part of the year 1860. It is proposed that this shall be succeeded by a number of other volumes on distinct subjects. 1. Those on nautical, astronomical, meteorological, magnetical, and other observations relating to Physical Geography, by Commodore Wüllustorf; 2. Geology, by Dr. Hochstetter; 3. Zoology, by Herren Frauenfeld and Zelebor; 5 Ethnography, by Dr. Scherzer; 6. Statistics and Natural Economy by the same; 7. Medicine, (Pathological and Pharmacognostical Researches,) by Dr. Schwarz. And, lastly, 8. An Album selected from nearly 2,500 sketches made by Herr Sellery, the artist of the Expedition. Whenever this grand programme, which will have the best wishes of men of science in all countries, shall have been completed, the rich results of the first Austrian Circumnavitory Expedition, placed, as it has been in able and well-instructed hands, will, we have no doubt, vindicate the national character in a new and much nobler field of enterprise, and give to that country a far more lasting and more dignified fame than any she has hitherto acquired.*

* Such is the inconvenience resulting from the use of a variety of meter-scales, and of such a number of methods of measurement, frequently taking quite different points for measures bearing the same name, as, in the case of the skull especially, that the celebrated Professor Von Baer, of St. Petersburgh, has just now proposed a Congress of Anthropologists, to determine upon one uniform scale, and to establish one approved system. By this means all the results of measurements of the human body would be rendered of universal applicability. —*Nachrichten über die Ethnog. Craniol. Sammlung zu St. Petersburg*, s. 81.

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XI.—*On the Manufacture of Works of Art by the Esquimaux.* By Capt. Sir Edward Belcher, R.N.

In an address to the late meeting of the British Association, Dr. Rae laid before you "An Account of the Aborigines of the Arctic as well as Sub-Arctic Regions of North America," confined to the limits of those meridians between which his exploration was made, viz., between the 85th and 115th meridians of longitude west of Greenwich, and the parallels of 65° and 70° north.

In the present paper I intend to confine my remarks generally to the races with which I came in contact, and to facts I was able to record during very short and broken visits. And I am in a great degree fortified in supporting my observations made so many years ago, by a very complete collection of objects which I shall be able to submit to your inspection, and to which I shall have to refer in support of my views.

These objects, with my remarks, may possess a further interest as tending to connect the chain of Arctic Aborigines continuous from the eastern limit of Asia to Greenland.

It will be necessary, in order to understand my position, that I should inform you I was attached to H.M.S. *Blossom*, under the command of Captain Beechey, between the years 1825-9, in the attempt to meet and succour Franklin's Expedition in the endeavour to connect the coast between the Mackenzie River and Icy Cape. My appointment as lieutenant and assistant-surveyor for the detached duties connected with science generally, afforded me greater opportunities for communicating with the natives and collecting facts and materials than any other officer. I was generally accompanied by the late Dr. Collie and Mr. Tradescant Lay the naturalist, both of whom afforded me the great advantage of their advice and opinion upon all matters connected with the subjects to be reported on, and which I must say were subsequently given, but very partially, to the public in Beechey's narrative.

In order properly to connect my observations on the link connecting the Asiatic race, the Tchutchi with the north-western tribes of Esquimaux, it will be necessary to state that our first visit in June 1826 was made to Kamtschatka in order to procure a Tchutchi interpreter for the Esquimaux, who had already been met with by Kotzebue in the Sound which bears his name. Baron Wrangel was then present in his ship, the *Modeste;* and, in order to facilitate the duty which was entrusted

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to me, his first lieutenant, Matiöuskin, was directed to give a ball to the natives. I had there the opportunity of seeing the northern tribe of the Tchutchi in all their finery, and also of judging of their state of civilization. I will not delay longer than to observe that, compared with the Esquimaux tribes met with by us on the American shores, they were more accomplished in Asiatic manners—particularly in music. They also manufactured their own violins, strings, and bows, and performed wonderfully, as compared with Europeans, perfect Paganinis, especially in the imitation of animals—at the same time being expert buffoons and actors—but there I must stop; in all other craft or handiwork having doubtless been relieved by the introduction of Russian manufactures, they were far behind the Esquimaux of western America in general intelligence, from whom they differed entirely in the matter of weapons.

Dr. Rae has described to us the snow-houses of more easterly tribes—of their peaceful habits or dispositions, and of the line where all navigators in those regions seem to agree, that their warlike propensities commence to develope themselves, the hostile propensity increasing to the westward until they reach Point Barrow.

The principal object of my paper is to bring before you "the stone implements of the western tribes at and north of Icy Cape" who had never been *directly* communicated with by any white man until I first set foot on Icy Cape.

Doubtless, at the limit of the Arctic Circle where Cape Prince of Wales meets the Asiatic shore, in sight and only thirty miles across, traffic had long been carried on between the races; but it is a well-known fact that the boundary lines of the respective tribes on the American side are as rigidly watched as they are between Belgium, France, and Germany. And we noticed the almost instant departure of one set of visitors as we passed the limit of their district, and were succeeded by another, and in one instance I witnessed not only this hostile disposition, but also the making captive a native chief, whom I had before captured and eventually been directed to land after his tribe had departed. He was a noble of his kind, and I almost wept with him at the sight of his distress.

The collection of objects before me results from my communication with the Aborigines, at and north of Cape Lisburne, and are manufactured by themselves; many of the short spear and arrow-heads were formed in my presence, from the chert taken *in situ*, and with the tools which I then purchased from them, which I propose presently to notice in detail. Some

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were subsequently obtained at the Aleutian Islands,—Sitka, and California—and are now produced merely as interesting by comparison.

Before doing so, however, I think it due to a proper understanding of their different mode of living, to explain that these tribes dwell during summer in very substantial tents made with deer skins, and during winter in a peculiar species of den or log-house termed a yourt, which is precisely similar to those now in use in Kamstchatka as well as Greenland; but having been an inmate and examined each, that is, Asiatic, north-west America, and west Greenland, I am inclined to prefer the cleanliness of my friends about Icy Cape and "Delta Point" of Beechey.

The *yourt* is constructed of the heavy drift wood which abounds on the shores of the Arctic Sea, piled up in tiers, and unaccountably replaced within a few days if cleared away, and yet very seldom seen afloat. The spars, varying in length from thirty to sixty feet, and about nine or ten inches at the butt, consist generally of oak, common fir, white cedar, cypress, ash, and that species of juniper known in Canada as the hackmatak, nearly approaching in toughness as well as colour to our elm.

The outline of the Esquimaux yourt is formed by digging a pit about twelve feet square and ten in depth, and driving vertical piles within these lines. These serve for the support of long spars laid obliquely, and which, resting on their vertical ends, and ballasted with earth on their butts, form a four-sided pyramidal roof, leaving an opening at the summit about eighteen inches square, which serves as a window as well as ventilator, and which is closed when requisite by a frame, on which the large skin of the paunch of the whale or seal is stretched, excluding the air and cold, and yet affording a pleasant subdued light about equal to ground glass.

On each side bed places are placed, occupying one-fourth each of the internal space—the portion opposite to the door being allotted to the lamp, kitchen utensils, etc. Beneath is the main store-room, affording about 1152 cubic feet, which, assuming meat to be as heavy as water, would give a solid content of 71,424 pounds. The flooring of the yourt is formed of split timber, nicely smoothed, the interstices filled or caulked internally and externally with moss; over all, outside, it is coated with bark, fine brushwood, and turf.

This building would be cold if entered directly from the outer level; but that there exists a *scientific association* there as well as here these implements fully attest, and undoubtedly

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they have acquired the knowledge that cold does not ascend—therefore, they construct a long passage about four feet below the level of the flooring of this chamber, planked and covered in, through which, crawling on hands and knees, they arrive at and climb into the inner chamber, where comfort, and in many instances *cleanliness* and *taste*, prevail. Indeed, I may say, that the manners of these rude people seem, like more civilized individuals, to soften as you enter the drawing-room—distrust possibly giving way before confidence on finding you rely on their better feelings.

I would here beg to remark that the remains of the stone yourts noticed by us at Village Point, at the very limit where Franklin turned back, resemble closely those of Kamtschatka as well as Greenland, the entrance being on the low side facing the hill, and thus, although facing north-east, affording a much more protected porch.

At the period of my visit to Icy Cape in July and August, I found the winter store-house of the last season pretty well supplied with a mixture of reindeer, whale, walrus, seal, swans, ducks, &c., but *none fresh!* It was frozen into a solid mass beneath, but loose from those on the surface, and seemed to be incorporated, by some unexplained process, into a *gelatinous snow* which they scraped up easily with the hand and ate with satisfaction—fish oil predominating. It was not offensive nor putrid. How many years the lower mass may have remained there I could not determine, but estimating the supply in one yourt as proportioned for ten people, the allowance of inhabitants to each yourt, the daily proportion for the complete store would allow for three hundred days, or about twenty-four pounds per soul!

In the summer months the available resources of game, salmon, whales, seal, &c., as well as fruit, are enormous; consequently these stores on the arrival of spring are disregarded, and thus continue to accumulate.

I do not speak at random and therefore will give in direct terms three separate results of traffic during two separate visits.

Off Cape Lisburne—

1. One cutter load of salmon, say about 1 ton .. one-fifth lb. tobacco = 5*d.*
2. „ „ eider duck „ ½ ton .. „ „ „

At Icy Cape—	Purchased by	*s.*	*d.*
610 lbs of solid venison	1 knife.....	0	4
Seven haunches, ditto	1 string beads	0	0½
One seal-skin full of reindeer fat = 60 lbs, two very large swans	1 lb tobacco	2	0
		2	4½

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The latter supply reached the ship, but the two former, after stowing away selected portions, were thrown overboard as encumbering the vessel, a decked boat of four tons.

Therefore, as regards provision, the vicinity of Icy Cape seems to abound in every variety, provided the natives will consent to sell; and to secure an increased supply it will only be necessary to select such articles as are *useful*, as they will instantly part with their most treasured stores, as, for instance, a canoe for an axe or saw—and latterly woollen cloth and blankets seemed to possess the greatest value. I found latterly they began to form more sensible opinions as to barter, and very often we discovered that they parted with defective tools, etc.

Their modes of cooking at the period to which I allude were very simple. A salmon split and traversed by seven or eight skewers transversely, was again threaded, in and out, longitudinally, by a long wooden spit. This, stuck into the ground, and inclined over the fire, caused the hot fat from the tail to run down the sides and cleanly and effectually roast the whole fish fit for any epicure.

In boiling, for they had not then seen metal kettles, they used those neat birchwood tubs prevailing throughout Canada. Filling the vessel with water they cast in red hot stones until they effected the object of boiling, on this they placed the object and covered all with a tub, so as to prevent the escape of steam—and I beg here to observe that such was then the practice also of the Indians of California, whose habits in very many respects resemble those of the Esquimaux, and to which I shall allude presently in speaking of weapons, or obsidian-pointed arrows.

Their propensity for ardent spirits had not then been elicited, but tobacco they coveted and knew as *tawac*, probably picked up at the instant they heard the name from our men. But smoking had been long their habit, and their pipes with their stone carved bowls afforded proof of great ingenuity. Before our communication and introduction of tobacco, they used the stem and down of a peculiar grass steeped in some aromatic gum (and natron), probably derived from a fir, as we found them in possession of little bags of what in North America is termed l'argent, used for chewing, cleansing the teeth, and perfuming the breath—possibly, I might suggest, by some of the present audience, at all events by most of my fair Canadian acquaintances, even under the roof of the government house. Indeed, one distinguished lady now imports it into this country as a luxury.

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But to return to their custom of smoking before the introduction of tobacco. This seems to be allied to some superstitious ceremony from which women and boys are excluded.

The party being seated, and the bowl of the pipe, which is only one-eighth of an inch in diameter by three-quarters of an inch in depth, filled, the leader or chief of the party commences by inhaling by deep and rapid inhalations so as suddenly to exhaust the tobacco, and without permitting any smoke to escape. Suddenly he passes the pipe to his nearest neighbour, and throwing himself forward on his face, seems to become stupified—indeed, insensible for many minutes—recovering gradually with a wild, stupid gaze, denoting a very severe effect on the brain.

Those around preserve a superstitious silence and demeanour, and for some time remain so, no one attempting to refill the pipe until the paroxysm has passed away. My reason for attributing this to a superstitious origin is, that they never conclude a weighty bargain or resolve pacific or hostile questions without reference to the pipe; a habit too well known among the inland tribes of Indians to need further remark.

Dr. Rae has graphically described to you the habits of the seal as well as the modes of deceiving them, and the devices resorted to in order to effect their capture. One mode, differing from that described by him, and where no ice was present, and in warm weather, the month of August, I witnessed. Two Esquimaux encased themselves in seal skins and swam about a rock on which several true seals were basking, perfectly deceiving me also. The seals became frightened, and before I could obtain a shot at them took to the water. The false seals took their places on the rocks, and I had levelled my rifle and was about to fire, when one of my boat's crew exclaimed, "It is a husky, sir!" One moment more he would have been killed. I kept in ambush watching them intently until they succeeded in enticing their prey to them by low whining cries. When they arrived within a yard of the rock where the false seals were, one of the latter dealt a blow on the nose, the other having his arms free, shot its companion with an arrow to which a long line and a float was attached (No. 59 of collection), allowing him to drift down with the tide. Two were thus taken and secured by their companions awaiting the result in their oomiak behind the neighbouring rocks.

The mode of preparing their skins is left principally to their ladies, who extract the oil from the inner side of the skin by mastication, leaving it soft as chamois leather and beautifully clean.

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Dr. Rae has referred to their signs, counting on their fingers, etc., and considered that they have no records. At Icy Cape I had occasion to think otherwise, and that the apparent counting on the fingers has a deeper signification than mere numerals. And they added in the instance to which I refer the seeking for a pair of notched sticks similar to a baker's tally.

Making use of the sticks and working with the fingers, apparently using each joint to denote some signal, and the front and back as variations—possibly as past and future—they at length by the intervention of the seer—which I think has been noticed by Beechey—made me understand that something preceding my visit was referred to, and since then I have been induced to think that it related to some matters connected with Sir John Franklin's boat expedition in 1826-7, passed on from tribe to tribe by tradition.*

The same terms for deer and seal—reindeer, took-toob; seal, neit-sek uk-sook—will be found to prevail throughout Asia, America, and Greenland; also the terms for oomiak, kaiack, and the models of their canoes scarcely differ.

As regards their hostility or friendship my experience taught me that much depended on the person they had to deal with, dislike to special individuals being distinguished by the habit of bestowing nick-names; the marked peculiarity of feature, particularly in eye or nose, being specially seized on for either friendly or ridiculous terms.

After the wreck of the barge, in Kotzebue Sound, I had occasion to live amongst them for some days, and soon found that so long as I maintained the superiority mentally, or could teach them easier modes of effecting any object by some process superior to that used by them, they submitted to my direction, and probably, if my fate had compelled me to take my lot amongst them, I might have become a chief and lived comfortably; and it is on this ground that I still adhere to the notion that *possibly* some one or two of the best constitutions of the crews of the *Erebus* and *Terror* may *willingly* be living amongst them, for we have the testimony of Dr. Kane of the sympathetic feeling for the savage life which prevailed amongst his crew; and the crew of the *Bounty* furnishes in a warmer climate a parallel, independent of similar instances in New Guinea and New Zealand, where escaped convicts have settled and become important personages.

Of their capacity for hostility and determined courage under

* The histories engraved on their drill bows denote the habit of record—if even of passing events. May it not refer to actions with whales, deer, or walrus, involving peril or death of chiefs, etc.?

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fearful odds, we unfortunately in the *Blossom* had undoubted proof. Nine of these unfortunate beings with bows and arrows withstood the advance of forty men and officers fully armed! nor were they deterred, under the very guns of the *Blossom* and musketry fired over their heads *in warning*, from landing *in defiance* on the Island of Chamisso, absolutely returning after they had been persuaded to quit it! Nine of our men were severely wounded. Six of their party were killed, the remainder it is supposed escaped, as our men were withdrawn to prevent further slaughter on their side. Thus, then, if any expedition proceeds easterly, adequate force to protect themselves must not be lost sight of, particularly in rounding Cape Barrow.

One further remark as to the ladies. In all communities they are the most important part of our species. It is for them throughout the world, wherever we find man capable of civilization or the slightest improvement, that all his pursuits seem to be directed. Mark the hunter returning from his toils laden with booty, where does he deposit it? sulky, surly, or tyrannical, even if ungraciously disposed, at the feet of his mate to be cooked for their mutual consumption!

In the event of hostilities in some savage countries, woman, as she should be, is the flag of truce. Even the savage will not fight if woman be interposed, and amongst the people I am treating of their absence is always to be reckoned on as indicative of distrust, fear, or possibly treachery.

But in the torrid zone, in Africa as well as in the Arctic Regions, woman has her value, and parents will not part with them without a valuable consideration. Such I found to be the case on the western coast of America. The tribe took a strange liking to one of our officers, they wished much to retain him with them, and offered to give him without remuneration, (indeed, to add loads of furs,) their chief beauty, and a yourt. He, I think sensibly, preferred trusting his fate on surer grounds—at least in a much pleasanter climate.

All the clothes, finery—indeed, I may add, very delicate embroidery—are executed throughout the regions under discussion by the women; and our museums all attest the beauty of their designs, as well as the extreme delicacy of their manufacture. Looking specially, then, to the specimens derived from Greenland, others from Canada, and I regret I have not brought the most perfect of the chatelaines from Icy Cape, can we for a moment allow that males as well as females possessing such taste and aptitude for invention, are not in a condition for improvement as well as civilization. Indeed, if they are not tampered with by the introduction of ardent spirits, who shall

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assert that at no very remote period those people may not be furnishing for our Pacific commerce, in Japan and northern China, products of considerable value, as regards mercantile transactions for exchange of goods. Salmon may be cured, furs obtained, and minerals, of value to the Japanese, taken to their southern markets. We have not as yet ascertained from what source plumbago and other minerals which we often find among them are obtained, simply because we have not exhibited to them the objects in their crude state, nor made them understand the demand or the articles which would be given in exchange.

I think my friend Dr. Rae will be prepared to admit as regards the mixed breed of French origin, southerly of the parallel to which my remarks have reference, that the influence there of the female sex in advancing civilization is most important. Indeed, I was assured by several of the most noted and warlike hunters who travel through the hostile Indian tribes to the north-east of the Hudson's Bay former territory, at Fort Vancouver, on the River Columbia, that their wives were indeed their better halves; that either by tact, by the vigour of their arm, by rifle, or knife, they had often come to the rescue and saved their lives. And yet the famed individuals I then saw and conversed with were not wanting in feminine beauty or grace.

In treating of the instruments now submitted to you, I will first direct your attention to the native planes. All those articles, if closely studied, possess intense interest, exhibiting not only deep thought for the necessities of the moment, but also a far greater degree of arrangement as to the position of the hand and fingers, as well as guard for the wrist, than can be traced amongst others in connection with the most civilized nations.

(No. 47.) That constructed of wood is certainly the most elaborate, and by the distribution of the fingers as well as provision for the muscular powers of the hand and wrist, ensures the utmost exertion of power without endangering fingers or wrist.

The three now before you were obtained at Cape Lisburne in 1826, and the ivory, which is fossil, doubtless from the great fossil deposit found at Escholtz Cliffs in Kotzebue Sound, of which drawings will be found in the narrative of Captain Beechey's voyage.

The next objects alluded to are the chert or flinty weapons in general use amongst the Esquimaux from the parallel of the Aleutian chain, or about 60° north to 72° north, and along the whole coast easterly towards the Great Fish River. It is

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therefore probable that there are many positions on the coast from whence they are able to obtain this important article. From my own observation, however, I am only able to speak to one locality—that is at the base of Cape Lisburne, forming the south-west angle of the bay, where much coal was noticed, *in situ*, and which has Icy Cape for its northern horn. It would be more properly designated "Icy Point," being a long low spit, but Cook noticing the loom of a hummock behind it, and probably unaware of the intervening marsh, gave the name which has been retained to the present day.

(No. 62.) The series of objects presented to notice includes those especially collected at Cape Lisburne and the vicinity, because I there *saw* the chert taken from the vein and manufactured under my inspection.

Cape Lisburne is about sixty feet in height, composed of a greyish dolomite, in which many fossil encrinites, corals, and crustacea are found. Near the base, about four feet above the sea level, a vein of chert is found, on which this friable stone lies. It varies from about nine inches inland (as exposed) to about three or four inches, as it is lost in the gravelly beach. It is broken in vertical shivers, or conchoidal plates, by a slight tap with the hammer formed of a very stubborn jade, or nephrite (No. 61), the splinters affording a ringing sound like glass or pottery. The fragments, indeed, in many instances, were already sufficiently formed without human aid for the ordinary purposes of flaying, or skinning off the superfluous fat from hides, etc.; indeed it then occurred to me that many fragments, where nature seemed either to have pressed heavily, or acted by frost, were so splintered and almost formed by nature to be used as arrow or spear heads without further attention to chipping. But to the *process* which they pursue in effecting the fine regular serrated edges which you will notice in those specimens now before you.

Possibly, had I not witnessed the operation, and been at the time one of the first Europeans with whom they ever held communion, the idea would have remained undisputed that "they owed their formation to the stroke of the hammer." Being a working amateur mechanic myself, and having practised in a very similar manner on glass with a penny piece in 1815, I was not at all surprised at witnessing their *modus operandi*. Selecting a log of wood, in which a spoon-shaped cavity was cut, they placed the splinter to be worked over it, and by pressing gently along the margin vertically, first on one side, then the other, as one would set a saw, they splintered off alternate fragments until the object, thus properly outlined,

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presented the spear or arrow-head form, with two cutting serrated sides.

(No. 44.) But let us revert to this instrument for the use of which the untaught would *never imagine a purpose*, and I suspect was not witnessed or deemed worthy of notice by any other individual of the expedition.

First, this instrument (again ornamented) has a graceful outline. The handle is of fine fossil ivory. That would be too soft to deal with flint or chert in the manner required. But they discovered that the point of the deer horn is harder, and also more stubborn; therefore, in a slit, like lead in our pencils, they introduced a slip of this substance and secured it by a strong thong, put on *wet*, but which on drying becomes very rigid. Here we cannot fail to trace ingenuity, ability, and a view to ornament. It is the point of deer horn, which refusing to yield, drives off the fine conchoidal splinters from the chert.

I cannot here omit remarking that the very same process is pursued by the Indians of Mexican origin in California with the obsidian points for their arrows. And also in the north and south Pacific, at Sandwich Islands, 21° north, and Tahiti, 18° south—30 degrees=2340 miles asunder—similar indentations or chippings are carried out in forming their axes from basaltic lava, but probably performed in the latter instances with stone hammers. I myself witnessed at the Convent of Monterey the captured Indians forming their arrow-heads out of obsidian exactly similar to the mode practised by the Esquimaux.

It is as well to observe that the Esquimaux use several kinds of arrow-heads. First, one entirely of chert about four inches in length (No. 62); second, one of deer horn pointed with chert; thirdly, variously shaped, barbed—bifurcate, trifurcate, and quadrifurcate—entirely of horn* or ivory; but the two first are those in principal use.

The range obtained by measurement when shot by one of the most powerful of the tribe, was one hundred and seventy-six yards. This was also the extreme range obtained by any of the bows obtained between California and Icy Cape, and by comparison, as between the heaviest and lightest weapons. It will be seen that the Californian arrow is very light, being but a reed pointed.

Their drill bows seem to possess almost an historic character—as you may notice on them indeed, if we could have properly

* Wherever horn is named, it refers to the hard point of the antler of the reindeer.

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pursued the investigation—even *of records*, of particular feats of hunting, at least the pictorial illustration thereof.

The drill bows are formed from the curved portion of the walrus tusk, and when recent possess great elasticity; but when old or too much dried, splinter and break very easily.

(Nos. 37, 38, 39). The drill itself I found invariably formed of a green jade, once of leek green *prase*, very stubborn; and to the present time their mode of cutting, shaping, and polishing their labial ornaments as well as these hard substances, is to us a secret.

The thong of the drill bow being passed twice round the drill, the upper end is steadied by a mouthpiece of wood, having a piece of the same stone imbedded, with a countersunk cavity. This held firmly between the teeth directs the tool. Any workman would be astonished at the performance of this tool on ivory; but having once tried it myself, I found the jar or vibration on the jaws, head, and brain, quite enough to prevent my repeating it.

(Nos. 65 to 69.) The "labrets" which are produced, are of similar stone to the drills, but by what process cut could not be discovered. British lapidaries consider them very difficult even to polish.

(No. 2.) I was at one time possessed of numerous and very beautiful specimens of needlework, or embroidery on skin dresses, but unfortunately they were damaged by water, rotted, and were during my absence lost. One cap only remains, obtained from the Aleutian Islands, where I consider they are more civilized, equal to Greenland.

(Nos. 4 and 5.) The grand dress termed the kamlaika was constructed of narrow strips of prepared seal intestine, which formed a close garment, where the face and hands only were exposed. This, worn outside the customary fur dresses, retained the heat and kept out wind and rain; indeed, when well wet, seemed to preserve the internal temperature much better than furs.

The needlecases of the females are also objects of considerable interest to the close observer. On casual inspection they will scarcely attract attention; but this chatelaine, as I will venture to term it, has its uses as well as ornaments, clearly derived from the wants of the natives—and here, too, their undoubted ingenuity is remarkably apparent.

The outer case of walrus ivory is admirably adapted for the purpose. The needle varies only from our own by its four-sided shape, and its fineness astonishes us as well as their mode of drilling its minute eye, not yet known.

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The thong which is used to preserve them indicates civilized ideas; for we find it composed of sealskin, defying water from without, yet affording a soft, woolly nature within, not forgetting that amount of oil necessary to preserve the needles from rust. Then the lapping of the sides together, and drawing them with a wedge-like power through the ivory tubes effectually excludes air as well as water. Nor do we stop there. Amongst the apparent ornaments we notice a hook composed of ivory. Its use is not only to retain the work steady, but also to retain temporarily any fresh object of interest until it be transferred to the company of other "charms."

Amongst these charms invariably were noticed, figures of seal, deer heads, geese and ducks. It is well known amongst the more civilized tribes that a young woman or her parents do not consider any suitor entitled to consideration until he has proved himself able to maintain a wife. And the Esquimaux also, by his prowess in the capture of the game, proves himself fit to provide for the sustenance of his mate. Hence, probably, these are cherished mementos of early exploits and presents to objects of affection.

I have already cursorily alluded to the labrets or lip and cheek ornaments of the Esquimaux. I have been able to procure the entire set of instruments which throw a light on their habits of forming the necessary aperture in the cheek from infancy up to puberty (No. 65); and the series of ivory guides, if I may so term them, indicate their practice to bear a very close resemblance to our habit of piercing the ears of our young ladies for ear rings, and also to that of New Guinea and the Feejee Islands in straining the lobes of the ears as well as septum of the nose for their enormous ornaments, requiring apertures of an inch and a half diameter! In the case of the Esquimaux, punctures are made in the cheeks sufficiently large to admit of an ivory cylinder being passed from within outwards, commencing at the size of a large bodkin, they are gradually changed to a bore of half an inch, and eventually may be stretched in old persons to the size of an inch and a half. The labrets up to a certain age are introduced from the inside of the mouth, but those of the latter dimensions I have stated (No. 69), are from without much in the manner of our shirt studs, one side of the inner portion being longer than its opposite to prevent its slipping out.

(No. 64). The ladies have a separate ornament, being a cup-shaped wooden object, shaped as under.

Formations of bows and arrows—steaming wood.

It must, doubtless, throughout all savage nations, be conceded that directly or indirectly the value of steam has been

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not only understood but acted on; but it is more particularly noticeable amongst the Indians of North America from the 50th parallel northwards.

(Nos. 60 and 60a). The bows of the Esquimaux are either in one single piece steamed to form, or at times composed of three pieces of wood, and it has always appeared to me that their object has been to produce a form very similar to the strung bow of the Tartars, and *totally dissimilar* to the tribes of Indians on the American shores southerly.

In the specimen now presented to your notice, the centre piece is bent by steam; the ends are straight, and being fitted together at the angular bend, the exterior hollow is filled by pieces of deer horn, ivory, or walrus tooth, as may be convenient. Over this externally a series of thongs formed by plaiting the fine fibres of the neck sinew of the reindeer is laid, and then, as seamen term it, "hitched over" to keep it in place. Indeed, precisely such a structure as would be presented to us supposing a band of ants had eaten away all the fleshy portions of a snake and left the fibrous muscle covering the vertebræ. On bending this to its form for service, it can readily be imagined what extraordinary force is demanded to speed the bolt; nor is this all; in very many instances, where the power of the left hand is inadequate to retain the bow firmly in its position, the arms on being thrown but very slightly aside, upset and *destroy the bow entirely*, until almost reconstructed!

The arrows attached to each, both ivory and chert pointed, are short, and not made as one would imagine from the straightest-grained timber that could be met with, but from that which happens to be present on the beach. They are straightened instead of bent by steam in the manner following. Having shaved the shaft to nearly the thickness required, it is then bound round with the finest shavings in a spiral direction. It is then immersed in water and held over a fire of live coals, wetting it repeatedly with water until they deem it sufficiently steamed. Held by one end it is apparent from the spiral mode of binding, that it may be instantly slipped through and disencumbered of its covering. It is then treated with the tool represented beneath, and readily brought into its required straightness.

Thus much for the shaft. The chert head being duly shaped is inserted at the point—the winged feathers at the butt; and, it would escape a casual observer, the deer sinew again performs the duty of securing them in their places by its glue-like as well as contractive powers.

The fine shavings of recently obtained whalebone also are employed for these purposes (vide spears, etc.); making nets

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and springs for the capture of the *alca psittaca*, or Greenland parrot.

This custom of using the reindeer sinews is not confined to the northern tribes of America. I traced it continuously on the western coast as far south as the 36th parallel on the coast of California, where the Mexican Indians soak it and form it into layers in which they encase the wood of the bow entirely (vide bow 93, arrows 94). The horns of the bow are also moulded entirely of it, and when dry it presents the dull grey translucent features of horn.

The face of the bow is then polished off to show the wood. These bows are preserved with the utmost care in fur cases to prevent moisture reaching them, by which their strength would be materially diminished.

I will venture to trespass a little longer on your patience and ask your inspection of the many other implements obtained from these, to me at least, most interesting people; particularly as they prove in every article you may examine, fresh proofs of original invention, design, and invariably the faculty of making even their working tools serve the purpose of ornament. Nor can I take leave of the subject without expressing my conviction that their talents have been elicited by circumstances totally disconnected with any communication with civilized Europeans or Asiatics; although it is possible they may by internal traffic (which we are informed is carried on by one party depositing goods at a given spot and retiring, the other advancing and leaving furs, fish, oil, and objects adequate to the value of the goods taken, but free from *verbal intercourse*) receive iron, and copper, which cannot be otherwise accounted for, as it would not have possessed so high a value had they been able to procure it from native sources. They were, I was informed at Kamstchatka, forbidden articles of exchange with the Tchutki of Eastern Siberia.

The slung balls for taking birds lead one to the central portions of America; their adzes to the natives of the Polynesian Islands.

The use of the reindeer sinew is common from Norway and Lapland, along the entire coast of Asia and America, even as low as 30° north in California, and continued on the coast line up to the easternmost point of America, and again at Greenland.

Their fishing gear is generally highly ingenious, whether as to the adaptation of materials or the false baits, which can only be properly appreciated when viewed in water.

The snow spectacles are not wanting in merit, they meet perfectly the desired object.

The harpoons and lines are well made, but there is one

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device for connecting them which has excited the admiration of every seaman, and it was so far in estimation in 1852 that a model in brass was made in the dockyard at Woolwich with the view of introducing it into the Royal Navy.

The throwing stick carries us to Australia.

(No. 79). The rattle is from the Aleutian Islands, but the figures, as well as those on the tombs of Western America, from the earliest days of Cook and Vancouver, all tend to ideas borrowed from Peru, and possibly, if through Tartary, from Egypt. I regret I have not some carved in slate, but they are still more in connection with Mexico.

It is remarkable, however, that none of the birds or human heads represent any known object, but are like those of Egypt, or I may say of New Zealand, creatures of fancy.

In stature, the northern Esquimaux, Tchutki, and native races at Greenland seem closely to agree. From measurement made by Dr. Collie and myself, the tallest man seen was five feet ten inches, the shortest five feet. The women invariably smaller in proportion. This is also remarkable in all the Indian tribes noticed on the coastline as far as the river Oregon. They were clothed generally with short shirts of sealskin next the body, over which an outer similar garment of deerskin, with a hood fringed with fur of fox, wolf, hare, or ermine. The lower garments were similar to those worn by the men, generally of sealskin, with warm legging boots outside, in some instances exhibiting ornamentation by mixed furs. At times dresses were noticed composed entirely of the skins of ducks or divers, and some few of salmon skins. (Nos. 4 and 5). In wet weather they use a waterproof dress, formed by sewing together the prepared intestines of the seal, which furnishes strips about four inches in width, and resembles coarse gold-beater's skin, or oil silk.

When they fear or intend hostility, they openly take off the fur deerskin dress, and clothe themselves in one of the same material, denuded of hair and completely tanned, which renders it considerably thicker as well as tough. Over this they replace the fur garment, draw their bow cases behind them, and then with perfect good humour resume communication. This intimates, "here we are already in case of quarrel, now to return to business."

They are quick, intelligent, active in resources to meet any sudden emergency; not easily disconcerted or excited to anger, and even when subjected to sudden chastisement, retaining apparently their good humour. There are some tribes far the reverse, but I consider that it resulted from the constant habit of warfare; from that habit of oppression of the weaker tribe

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resulting from the knowledge of power amongst themselves—and in all these cases I think theft as a natural result followed. Where this was detected, it appeared, as we observe in the Chinese, that the commission of the act was not deemed a crime, but that detection, blundering, or want of expertness, was monstrous, and deserved punishment!

Their good feelings frequently prevailed, and in many instances I had to admire principles of honour creditable even to civilized individuals.

It then, and has since occurred to me, that about the 70th parallel, where coal, wood, salmon, whales, seal, walrus, and the fur trade offer considerable advantages, that civilization might be materially facilitated were the Aborigines not bound down by the iron hand of Russian domination. It seems to be a maxim rigidly followed out by all their officers on the north-western shores of America, as far down as their settlement of Sitka or New Archangel, closely adjacent to our settlement at Vancouver's Island, that all the native population shall be kept in bondage, and be debarred, as far as their power can effect it, from traffic with any other nation.

Even at Greenland a similar system prevails, and the Danish government even assumes the right to prevent the whale fishery in Davis' Straits!

I have before remarked that the handiwork of the western Esquimaux much resembles that which we find at Lievely, the principal Danish settlement. I may with safety assert that a stranger, viewing at hazard the productions obtained from the Aleutian Islands, on the western boundary of America, where the Russians have in some degree civilized the women, with those produced under nearly similar circumstances at Lievely, would be puzzled to detect any important difference either in the objects selected to represent models of their implements, canoes, dresses, etc., or in their attempted finery. And I would even go so far as to say that if a stranger could be instantaneously transferred from a yourt in Kamschatka in Siberia, to another at Lievely in Greenland, he would notice similar tones, if not a very similar language; observe the same costume, dresses, habits and occupations; the form and limbs of the females almost identical, not forgetting the small feet so much admired in the Tartar races from Canton to Siberia.

I cannot take leave of these labial ornaments, which may be carried south, to New Guinea at least, without a few remarks. The stone of which they are formed is evidently much prized by them, particularly the Nephrite, and latterly could not be obtained.

Now commencing at New Zealand—next at China throughout

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—then Japan, that stone possesses a peculiar importance, and is extensively used in religious ornaments. Without it the Chinese Deity, good or bad, is incomplete. It is invariably a component part of the interior set of jewels placed within the chest (by a trap between the shoulders) of every Chinese idol. I had at one time no less than fourteen of these objects on my quarter deck, and from each a set was taken, similar to the one I now submit to you, but much larger. A question was put to the late Launcelot Dent as to the restoration of these deities after the ransom of Canton. But when it became known that these jewels had been profaned by the touch of the barbarians, they ceased to possess any further value. I was informed that each of the objects sent home in H.M.S. *Blenheim* was valued, if complete, at eight hundred dollars.

With the facts and observations I have placed before you I now leave the question, as to any previous intercourse, by the shores of America from Peru, or westerly through Siberia, Tartary, China, etc., with our Esquimaux friends, to those inclined to pursue the investigation, and conclude by thanking you for the patience with which you have endured my rambling remarks.

The objects not immediately belonging to Arctic natives or American Indians in contact with them, are presented in order to compare similar ideas where such vast ranges of sea intervene as probably to preclude all intercourse.

XII.—*Abstract of Observations on the Assyrian Marbles, and on their place in History and in Art.* By ROBERT KNOX, M.D., Hon. F.E.S., Corresponding Member of the Imperial Academy of Medicine of France, Foreign Associate of the Anthropological Society of Paris, etc., etc.

WHILST engaged in the composition of my work on the "Races of Men," the question as to how civilization originated, and what form it assumed in early times and amongst different races, frequently engaged my attention. The great value of artistic records cannot well be questioned, although it must also be admitted that there are in the very nature and essence of art itself circumstances calculated to lessen or even to destroy their value in a historical and scientific point of view. Keeping this in view, I made a careful survey, in as far as I could, of the remains of art to which I had access, directing my attention chiefly to the Coptic, as being that form of civilization which the artist had best illustrated. The pictorial and sculptural remains of ancient Egypt form, indeed, the most promi-

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nent record of all history—of the history, at least, of a race of men who have all but passed away, and of whom, but for those monuments, the history of the ancient world would have been wholly misunderstood. What adds to the value and importance of these artistic remains, is the circumstance, singular enough when we reflect on it, that the inscriptions and written works left by the race do not furnish us with any important facts in respect of their history as a nation, and that the statements they make are contradicted by those artistic remains; always presuming that we rightly interpret these linguistic remains, which I greatly doubt.

Some of the results of my inquiries into the character of the Coptic remains will be found in my work on the *Races of Men.* To those made subsequently I shall allude briefly in this memoir. It is not my intention to allude to the labours of the Chevalier Bunsen nor of Mr. Horner; labours which must be well known to the members of this society. I view the question, both as regards the Coptic and the Assyrian, mainly from an ethnological point of view, as an inquirer, in fact, into the natural history of the races of men.

The history of the discovery of the Assyrian marbles by Messrs. Botta and Layard, how and where discovered and brought to this country; the attempts made by many distinguished scholars and travellers to interpret the inscriptions on these marbles and other remains of art found on the ancient sites of Nineveh and Babylon engraven in cuneiform letters, are matters familiar to all. The marbles I am about to speak of were disinterred at or near Mossul, a modern town on the Tigris, supposed, with every appearance of probability, to have been the site of ancient Nineveh. Babylon, lower down, on the Euphrates, has not as yet furnished any similar remains, but records singularly valuable have also been found there by Mr. Loftus, and to some of these I may also refer in the course of this abstract. Having no faith in any of the interpretations or translations of the inscriptions still existing on these pictorial and sculptural remains, I shall not further notice them.

Of the objects represented on the Assyrian marbles, the most remarkable is, of course, Man himself. I see no reasonable objection to the supposition that the Assyrian artist, like the Copt, the Indian, the Mongol, the Greek and Roman, pourtrayed that race to which he himself belonged; the race occupying the city and country in which he dwelt, and which we presume to have been Nineveh and Assyria. We may, I think, therefore assume, that the dominant race represented on these marbles fairly represents the ethnological or natural history characters of the ancient Assyrians; or if this expression be

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objected to, as it might, that they at least represent a race who once lived on or near the spot where Mossul now stands; who had attained, adopted, or invented a certain form of civilization —by which term I mean a standing in literature, science and art. To have reached this point necessitates a social and national condition, if I may so say; an amount of independence and power, enabling the nation to cope successfully with the limitrophic aggressive races. The first question to be asked is, do these sculptures represent merely a nation, or do they also represent a race? Now they seem to me to do both; they exhibit all the organization of a nation at once aggressive and repelling, for we see them attacking walled or fortified towns; and by the flight of those mounted on the camel, it seems reasonable to conjecture that they repelled the wandering and aggressive Arab, whose habits were then, no doubt, what they still are. The people they attacked were precisely of the same race as themselves, with one exception, to which I shall afterwards especially allude; admitting also, although the sculpture is not sufficiently clear to decide the fact, that the persons mounted on camels were Arabs. In this case the marbles represent individuals of three races of men. First, the Assyrians, properly so called, and the inhabitants of the towns and countries they attacked, who, although of the same race as themselves, were not necessarily called Assyrians. Secondly, the race supposed to be Arabian, as being mounted on camels, an animal not employed by the Assyrians nor by the ancient Egyptians, who scarcely seem, incredible as it may appear to those who have a belief in the history or fable of Sesostris, ever to have seen a camel. Thirdly, a race with Ethiopian features who dwelt in one of the towns captured by the Assyrians. Of this race, which occurs on only one slab, I shall speak shortly.

1. Of the physiognomy of these people we have agreed to call Assyrians, sculptured on these slabs, it is not necessary to say much; it is sufficient to look at the features, and on those of their form to see that they were a distinct race. Having carefully and repeatedly gone over the whole of the evidence and examined the very beautiful well drawn sketches in the portfolio of my friend Mr. Boutcher, who accompanied Mr. Loftus in his Babylonian and Susian researches, I have arrived at the conclusion that the modern race, which most closely resembles these ancient sculptures, are the Armenians.

The wars they carried on were with their neighbours of the same race, who lived in walled towns situated on the Tigris or on some of its branches; the slaves or labourers, as in Egypt, were also of the same race, as is proved by their physiognomy

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and by other circumstances. They made no distant conquests or forays, and were it not for the appearance of the Asiatic elephant and Bactrian camel on a black marble column, led as trophies or spoils of war, there is nothing in these sculptures warranting a belief in any foreign conquests. They were, like the Copts, wholly unacquainted with the elephant as an arm of war, nor do they seem to have employed cavalry. In this respect they resembled the Copts of ancient Egypt; who, notwithstanding their proximity to the country of elephants (*Elephantine*) and to Lybia, were wholly ignorant of the existence of such an animal. The ancient Copts were also ignorant of the use of cavalry; and the same remark, may, I think, be applied to the Assyrian; armed horsemen, it is true, appear singly or in pairs in pursuit of an armed and similarly mounted enemy, but I cannot find any body of horse drawn up in such a way as to prove that cavalry formed an arm of war with the race. It is sufficiently curious as confirming the great antiquity of the *Iliad*, that the Greeks and Trojans of that day made no use of cavalry. No one is mentioned as being mounted on horseback, the use of the horse being solely restricted to the chariot. Homer knew nothing of the elephant, nor did the European nations before the return of Alexander from the East. The ancient Egyptians, as I have just remarked, were equally ignorant of the elephant, there occurring on their monuments merely the drawing of a young one, seemingly of the African species, led in procession as spoil taken in war. I feel disposed, therefore, to regard the accounts of the distant wars and conquests of the Assyrians and Egyptians as mere fables.

In respect of the other two races of men who appear on these marbles, we may assume one to have been Arabian; still there is no farther proof of this than that they flee from the victorious Assyrians mounted on camels. A race, with features resembling the negro, defile from a conquered town as prisoners of war; they are not negroes, properly so called, but probably represent one of the dark races to whom the ancients gave the name of Eastern Ethiopians. They lived in a walled and fortified town, with a population resembling the ordinary Assyrian. There is nothing to indicate that they lived in a savage and uncultivated land, and were evidently limitrophic of the Assyrian power. I cannot find on any of the marbles portraits of a distinctly marked Jewish race. The modern Armenian and the ancient Assyrians represented on these marbles may, it is true, be considered as an affiliated race with the Hebrew; so also is the Copt; still there is no confounding the physiognomy on these marbles with the Jewish race.

The resemblance of these artistic remains, mode of warfare,

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etc., to what we find on the Egyptian monuments, very naturally suggests the idea that one may have preceded the other, and that one, therefore, may be a copy; but I see no reason for adopting this idea. The characteristic features originated with the races themselves. Many proofs might I think be given of their independent character; whether the Assyrian borrowed from the Asiati-Greeks, or these from the former, is a question which has been discussed by the illustrious Niebuhr, and decided by him against the Greek. But admitting that in architectural designs the strictly Oriental, the African, or the Coptic mind far excelled all European races, there exists a gulf between those races which nothing can bridge over. The gulf I allude to is the contempt for truth and the acceptance of conventionalism in its place by all Oriental races, and the love of truth and the rejection of all conventionalism by the Greeks.

On this love of truth, as displayed in nature's great works, is based all that is great in literature, combined with a love for and a perception to distinguish fine forms from the conventional, the unnatural, the theatrical and artificial; it constitutes the standard of taste in the artistic world. The Greeks, who possessed both qualities, early discovered the perfectly beautiful and the true in art and literature, thus at once carrying those two great elements of civilization to the highest perfection. The social arts they left to the nations and races, who, like the Chinese and English, worship the goddess utility.

The Assyrian artist, like the Coptic, had no regard for the truth of nature in fashioning the representation of the grandest of all nature's works—the human figure. To men and women, young and old, they gave nearly the same forms; of the very essence of art, the beautiful, they had not the least idea. Thus high art never made any progress with either race, and never could; nor, in so far as I have been able to discover, has it ever done so with any race of men excepting the Greek, and those who, like the Italian and other modern races, have, after a struggle of many centuries, at last agreed to accept of truth for conventionalism. Still, as the contrary principle is almost an instinct with these races, the struggle goes on, and will go on to all eternity. The Scandinavian or Saxon races, for example, still persist in combining the useful with the beautiful; they have given to the idea even a metaphysical character. Haters of truth in nature, they for a long time maintained the Socratic and Voltairian idea, adopted by Jeffrey and Alison, that the beautiful consisted not in what was absolutely true and beautiful, but in association with some fantasies of the individual, or of the race or nation. They still vacillated between these two conventionalisms. The conventionalisms which led astray Assyrians

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and Copts were different, but they were quite sufficient to prevent their discovering the essence of beauty and truth in nature.

Thus all their figures, man, woman, and child, are carved after one model, a model displaying the coarse anatomy of the *interior* structures of the body, of all sights the most abhorred by those on whom nature has bestowed a love of fine forms and of the beautiful. In their sculptures the Assyrians displayed even the *skeleton* forms of the feet, forms which, as I have shown in my work on artistic anatomy, nature constantly endeavours to conceal, and successfully conceals in all her finest productions of humanity. To display skeleton forms on the surface, is to bring prominently into view those hideous shapes of the interior which nature has so carefully concealed. In all fine forms to sculpture a skeleton-shaped foot, as the Assyrian artists have done, instead of the beauteous foot of the Venus, of the Apollo, of the Diana, of youth everywhere, is to display to the spectator those emblems of decay and of dissolution from which all men of correct taste turn with aversion.* The same remark applies to all the interior anatomy when coarsely displayed on the surface.

Since I have alluded to the Coptic remains, pictorial and sculptural, it may be permitted me to remark that, besides being ignorant of the use of cavalry and of elephants as instruments of war, those artistic remains of the Coptic race do not show, as the illustrious Lepsius imagined, an early acquaintance with the four leading races of men; by which, I presume, the celebrated scholar means the European, the Negro, the Mongol, and the American. On the contrary; they represent merely the Coptic (whose race has not yet been determined; the negro; a race evidently European but not determinable; and caricatures of the tribes living by the shores of the Red Sea or in Nubia. The Coptic artist was a caricaturist: hence his drawings cannot be trusted. Of the beautiful they were profoundly ignorant; truth in nature they despised; a national conventionalism filled the minds of the race, shutting out for ever all hopes of progress, for no nation or race can ever make progress in fine art whose minds are unsuited to discover the beautiful, and who accept of falsehood for truth. Thus true art belongs only to Greece.

But if we overlook this, and narrowly inspect the Assyrian marbles, we shall discover in their representations of animals, and especially of the lion, wild horse, dog, etc., much that is admirable. Whenever the likeness of man ceases to be the

* See my work on Artistic Anatomy. Renshaw, London.

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object of their chisel, nature speaks out, and truth and nature appear.

In respect of the form their religious folly assumed, it may be said of the Assyrians that they do not seem to have been fire-worshippers; they knew nothing of the dog-headed gods of Egypt; their man-headed lions and bulls were peculiar to themselves. To the man-headed bull they gave the ears of the brute, to the man-headed lion human ears. Their demons seem to have been Zoroasterian, and such, probably, was their form of belief.

The conclusions I would venture to draw from oft-repeated observation of these sculptures, and a careful comparison with historic records, are, that the ancient Assyrians and modern Armenians are of the same race; that neither they nor the Copts ever made any extended conquests; that in their pictorial and sculptural works much was left to the artists, ever desirous of flattering national vanity; that the Assyrian marbles are probably as old as the age of Homer; that they invented a form of art, or gave to art a form peculiar to their race; that the progress they made was in manipulation and handling, or workmanship; but that, like the Copt, they could make no progress in fine art, inasmuch as nature had denied to them a love of truth and a knowledge of the beautiful. This then was their position in history and in art. The key to their language has been lost. But for the sculptured black marble column now in the Museum, there would be scarcely anything to show that the Assyrians ever quitted the valleys of the Tigris and the Armenian territory. The appearance of the Asiatic elephant and Bactrian camel on this column, led as spoils of war, seems to shew that a foraging party had reached Bactria and returned. The Assyrians were unacquainted with Syria and the Jews; so were the Copts. Herodotus does not mention the Jews, nor does Xenophon, who traversed all these countries.

So late as the time of Xenophon the elephant was entirely unknown to the Persians, shewing how insignificant were the eastern conquests of the great king. About one hundred and thirty years after Xenophon, Alexander first encountered elephants in the army of Darius, but they were few in number and used for state and parade; nor was it until he encountered an Indian army that the great warrior met with the elephant used as an instrument of war. The fact that the Assyrians were unacquainted with the Indian species of the elephant, and the Copts with the African species, throws great doubt on the reputed conquests of those two races. Their monuments throw no light on the question, as to who the northern and southern Chaldæans were. The immortal historian of *The Decline and Fall of the Roman*

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Empire considered the northern Chaldæans, at least, as being simply the Chalybeans of Xenophon and Herodotus. But the narrative of Diodorus, who traces the southern Chaldæans to Egypt, is clear and circumstantial. Upon the whole, I feel disposed to ascribe these monuments, as well as the Coptic, to a high antiquity. About nine hundred years before the Christian æra, the Assyrians were a leading power in Upper Asia—so says Herodotus; but this also was the presumed æra of Homer. And yet the immortal bard expressly says that he describes events which had occurred "in times remote:" this expression may mean a hundred years or a thousand, this being the amount, I find, in which authors differ in respect of the history of the Assyrians. Future inquirers will no doubt some day reconcile these differences in the history of the Assyrians, whose ancient sculptures we owe to the labours of some public-minded men, with whose names these invaluable monuments of a past race and nation will unquestionably be for ever associated.

In whatever way Assyrian art originated, if it did not originate with the race (which in my own opinion it did), it received from it those profound modifications which the element of race stamps on mankind. Nature had denied to the race the perception of the beautiful, in the absence of which high art cannot exist; in lieu thereof they substituted, as other races have done, conventionalities, derived from those ever varied and endless varieties in circumstances and accidents forming the basis of art within the trammels of conventionalism—the basis in fact of what is called national taste. The art became Assyrian, and as such, Oriental and theatrical, antagonistic not to the Assyrian nature, but to the nature of a higher gifted race whose aim in art was truth and beauty. It had reached the highest excellence to which in the nature of things it could attain. It admitted of no modification. Should it be argued that western Europe has deeply felt, in later times, the influence of that art which originated and belonged to Greece, it must never be forgotten under what circumstances this modification took place. Greece fell long before Augustus appeared; this was step first. But now ancient Greece had existed in Italy before the foundation of Rome itself, and an æra of art, the Etruscan, was passing away when this event took place. As regards art, nine-tenths of Europe, even when the empire was established in Rome, could not be said to be civilized.

The transfer of the seat of empire to Byzantium brought art into contact with the east, and to the Oriental character Christianity added its metaphysical and transcendental mythology. Art, once more trammelled and harnessed, continued to descend

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until the disinterment of the antique in Italy, coincident with the appearance on the stage of the European world of three men of gigantic genius, Leonardo, Michael Angelo, and Raphael, once more recalled men to the great principle of high art—a perception of the truth in nature and of the beautiful in nature—a transfer of which to the canvass and marble, constitutes the perfection of art.

XIII.—*On the Conditions which favour, retard, or obstruct the early Civilization of Man.* By JOHN CRAWFURD, Esq., President of the Ethnological Society, F.R.S., F.R.G.S., Foreign Associate of the Anthropological Society of Paris, etc., etc.

THE conditions which favour, retard, or obstruct the early civilization of man are, the physical and intellectual character of the races of man, the character, auspicious or inauspicious, of the localities in which the races are found, the presence or absence, the abundance or paucity, of animals capable of domestication, or of useful plants suitable for cultivation, as well as the intercommunication of rude tribes with nations that have already made some advance in social progress.

Before entering on the general question, I shall attempt to show what must have been the first appearance of man when omnipotent power called him into existence,—when the conditions which I have now enumerated had not yet had time to operate, and when all races, wherever situated, were on a common level of savage equality. The most graphic account of man in that state which I have seen is to be found in a charming little book by Sir Humphrey Davy, called *Consolations in Travel*, and written a few months before the philosopher's death. In the form of a vision, partly fictitious, and partly founded on an actual dream, he paints the savage, naked, houseless and hungry. "Whilst I was still in motion," says he, "a dim and hazy light, which seemed like that of twilight in a rainy morning, broke on my sight, and gradually a country displayed itself to my view, covered with forests and marshes. I saw wild animals grazing in large savannahs, and carnivorous beasts, such as lions and tigers, occasionally disturbing and destroying them. I saw naked savages feeding upon wild fruits, or devouring shell-fish, or fighting with clubs for the remains of a whale, which had been thrown upon the shore. I observed that they had no habitations—that they concealed themselves in caves, or under the shelter of palm-trees, and that the only delicious food which nature seemed to have given to them was the date and the cocoa-nut, and these were in very

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small quantities, and the object of contention. I saw that some of these wretched human beings that inhabited the wide waste before my eyes had weapons pointed with flint or fish-bone, which they made use of for destroying birds and fishes that they fed upon raw. But their greatest delicacy appeared to be a maggot or worm, which they sought for with great perseverance in the buds of the palm."

This is not an over-coloured account of the miserable state of man at his first appearance on earth, but taken as it really is from the accounts given of the native Australians: it is even much too favourable. The first generation of men could have no fashioned clubs, and no weapon pointed with sharpened flints or fish-bones. Even these rude weapons were only discovered by time and experience. The first weapons of the first men would have been nothing else than a branch torn from the nearest tree. The truth is, that the rudest savages ever discovered by civilized nations have not been in a state of nature. All had made some advances towards civilization. No savages have ever yet been found that had not acquired the art of evolving latent heat by the friction of two dry sticks against each other. Many, indeed, have been seen that were ignorant of hot water from the want of materials fit to withstand fire. Some of the inhabitants of the South Sea Islands, who had made considerable progress in agriculture, in their curiosity and ignorance scalded their fingers at the tea-kettle of Captain Cook. But pottery and warm water were luxuries, and fire and food necessaries.

Such, then, according to this view, were the first parents of men who have since invented the printing-press, the telescope, the steam-engine, the railway, and the electric telegraph. The change is not more strange, though far more agreeable to contemplate, than that of fancying "the noble dust of Alexander stopping a bunghole, or the clay of Cæsar employed to patch a wall to expel the winter's flaw."

One of the interlocutors in the dialogues of Sir Humphrey Davy's book is represented as arguing that man must have been created with more perfect faculties than such a helpless condition would imply, as otherwise "he must have been destroyed by the elements, or devoured by wild beasts, so much superior to him in physical force." To suppose such superior faculties in the first men is contrary to what we find in many savages, even after the discipline of thousands of years. We may be quite sure, however, that the Almighty did not create man without giving him the power of self-preservation. Man is gregarious, and by numbers, and the faculty, not possessed by the lower animals, of cooperation, he would make

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up for individual weakness. Above all, he would make up for it by the incomparable superiority of his brain. From the lion, the tiger, the leopard, and the panther, he could escape by the simple expedient of climbing a tree, or wading into the water, where these animals could not follow him. Besides the faculty of acting in concert, man, it must be further observed, possesses an active courage wanting in the lower gregarious animals, which are the natural prey of wild beasts, and which were far more numerous than man at his first creation, as indeed they still continue to be wherever man is yet a savage.

With respect to protection from the elements, we may safely believe that each race was created by Divine power to suit the climate in which it was located; the Malay for the Torrid Zone, and the Esquimaux for the Arctic Circle. My friend Charles Darwin, whose account I shall presently quote at more length, tells us, in his excellent Travels, that he saw women of Terra del Fuego, with naked children at their naked breasts, almost heedless of the pelting wind and rain of that most inclement region, and which would have quickly destroyed the natives of a warm or temperate climate. The inhabitants of tropical regions would require no clothing, and the skin of a dead bear, or sheep, or goat, would soon be had recourse to, almost instinctively, by those of cold ones.

Food would seem, at first view, to present a greater difficulty. It would, in the first instance, consist, for the most part, of fish and flesh, for esculent and wild fruits, even within the tropics, are few and scanty, and ordinary vegetables require cooking to make them fit for food. At and within the tropics the cocoa-palm is the only plant growing in a wild state fit for human food; and in temperate regions, unless we except the acorn, the date is the only one. Both are, however, very limited as to locality, for the cocoa-nut is confined to the seaboard and the date to the dry desert.

Animal food, then, would necessarily compose the chief sustenance of the first men, and stranded fish, or the carcases of animals that had died a natural death or had been partially devoured by beasts of prey, would be first had recourse to, as being the most acceptable food. Nothing would come amiss to the hungry savage; dead or live frogs, tortoises, snakes, lizards, rats, shell-fish, and grubs. My friend Sir George Grey, in his *Travels in Australia*, gives a graphic account of the food of the Australians, and particularly tells us of the feast of a whole tribe on a stranded whale. It was a sorry sight, he says, to see a pretty young woman entering the belly of the whale, there gorging herself with blubber, and issuing forth anointed from head to foot, and bearing in each hand a trophy of the

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delicacy in question. I do not well understand how my friend came to find beauty in a young woman of Australia; but my friend, though anything but a savage himself, has a mighty partiality for savages. He began his career by a perilous pilgrimage among the Australians; his next stage was with the man-eaters of New Zealand, whom he subdued, tamed, and made his friends. Pursuing his useful vocation, he is now, and has been for the last five years, successfully engaged in keeping the peace among the Caffres and Hottentots of the southern extremity of the African Continent.

But besides the resources I have just mentioned, it is to be remembered that some of the larger quadrupeds and all birds, in newly-discovered countries without human inhabitants, are quite indifferent to the approach of man, until, by a long experience, he is ascertained to be an enemy to be avoided. Such may safely be presumed to have been the case everywhere, on man's first appearance on earth, and for a long time afterwards, so that an abundance of animal food, easily procured, would not be wanting; and if it had in the first instance to be eaten raw, it may be taken for granted that in that age stomachs were equal to the enterprise. A young lady of the Sandwich Islands even now will swallow half-a-dozen raw mackerel for breakfast without the smallest inconvenience to herself; and an Esquimaux will swallow a quantity of train oil that would turn the stomachs of a dozen English ploughmen—evidence sufficient of what can be accomplished even by the degenerate digestions of existing races of man.

But it may be as well to give a few examples. The seal, in our seas, is a shy and wary animal, but in islands not frequented by man, and where seals abound, they allow themselves to be knocked on the head without attempting to escape. The most remarkable examples, however, of the tameness of birds in countries which have been found without human inhabitants, and the most satisfactory and the fullest statement of this curious and instructive fact, have been given by my friend Mr. Charles Darwin, in his account of the Gallapagos Islands on the western coast of South America. These are of volcanic formation and have a very arid soil, but with some springs in the interior, to which huge tortoises and birds repair to drink. "Before concluding the zoology of these islands," says Mr. Darwin, "I must describe more in detail the tameness of the birds. This disposition is common to all the terrestrial species. There is not one that will not approach sufficiently near to be killed with a switch, and sometimes, as I have myself tried, with a cap or hat. A gun is here almost superfluous, for with the muzzle of one I pushed a

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hawk off the branch of a tree. One day a mocking-bird alighted on the edge of a pitcher, made of the shell of a tortoise, which I held in my hand whilst lying down. He began very quietly to sip the water, and allowed me to lift him from the ground. I often tried, and very nearly succeeded, in catching these birds by their legs. Formerly these birds appear to have been even tamer than now."

Among the islands discovered without human inhabitants were Madeira and its adjacent islands; and here, no doubt, the birds were as tame as in the Gallapagos, although we have no record of it. They have now, however, been settled for more than four centuries, and the birds have had time to become as shy as in all other inhabited countries. The Falkland Islands afford a second instance of the tameness of birds; and here again I refer to Darwin: "The geese in the Falkland Islands," he observes, "by the precaution they observe in building on the islets, show that they are aware of the danger from foxes; but they are not by this rendered wild towards man. The tameness of the birds, especially of the water-fowl, is strongly contrasted with the habits of the same species in Terra del Fuego, where, for ages past, they have been persecuted by the wild inhabitants. In the Falklands the sportsman may sometimes kill more of the upland geese in one day than he is able to carry home; whereas in Terra del Fuego it is nearly as difficult to kill one as it is in England of the common wild goose."

It takes a long time before the birds learn to fear man. "These birds" continues Mr. Darwin, speaking of those of the Gallapagos, "although much persecuted, do not become wild in a short time. In Charles Island, which had been colonized for six years (since 1826), I saw a boy sitting at a well with a switch in his hand, with which he killed the doves and finches as they came to drink. He had already procured a little heap of them for his dinner, and he said he had been in the constant habit of waiting there for the same purpose."

Dampier, who visited the Gallapagos in 1684, or nearly one hundred and sixty years before Mr. Darwin, gives a similar account of the tameness of the birds. "There are great plenty of turtledoves, so tame that a man may kill five or six dozen in a forenoon with a stick. They are somewhat less than a pigeon, and very good meat and commonly fat." To the tameness of the birds of the Falkland Islands I may add that there is one striking exception, the birds of passage. These are travelled and cosmopolitan birds—know by experience what sort of creature man is, and that he is no more to be trusted than a fox.

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The tameness of birds and animals which have not had a long experience of man, would probably lead to the practice of domesticating such of them as were amenable to domestication; a practice which intelligent savages, we may suppose, would have recourse to when the wild birds began to get scarce.

The first men were undoubtedly very miserable beings; fortunately, however, without being, in the absence of any object of comparison, aware of it. Dryden thus describes such a savage:

> "I am as free as Nature first made man,
> When in the woods the noble savage ran."

I cannot set much value on the freedom of the being who was liable to be knocked on the head by the first stronger man he met, for the sake of the possession of a dead rat or a cocoa-nut; nor can I conceive anything noble in the poor naked, crouching creature, trembling with cold and starving from hunger.

I now proceed to describe, as succinctly as I can, the various conditions which tend to promote, retard, or hinder the early progress of man in civilization. The word civilization is, of course, merely a relative term, and which, although it always implies social advancement, it is impossible to fix or define. A people, however, that cultivates useful plants, that has domesticated some useful animals, that possesses a knowledge of some of the useful metals, that has acquired the art of weaving textile fabrics, and, finally, that has either invented for itself written language or borrowed and used that of another people, may, I think be safely called civilized. Five-and-twenty centuries ago the Greeks were certainly a civilized people, and the Britons, Irish, French, and Germans as certainly were not. The English of the time of Elizabeth were a civilized people, and their sovereign was worthy of them; but the English of the present day are far more civilized, and they have a sovereign equal to themselves. Queen Elizabeth was, no doubt, a great sovereign, and spoke Latin; but then she beheaded her cousin Mary, drank strong ale at breakfast, wore woollen hose, not such as are now made in Leeds or Nottingham; had but one pair of silk stockings, rode on a pillion behind Lord Burleigh, and swore a good deal. Such are not the ways of Queen Victoria, whom we may safely pronounce to be a far fitter sovereign for a people who have profited by two hundred and fifty additional years of civilization.

The first condition to which I have referred as promoting, retarding, or hindering, the progress of early civilization is *race*, and on this point I shall only compare people who are placed, in other respects, in equal circumstances. The Hindus occupy a country as fertile, and almost as large, as do the

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Chinese. It lies mostly within the same latitudes as China, and civilization most probably sprang up as early in India as in China. The results are, however, very different; and I do not see how the difference can be accounted for, except by difference in the quality of the race. The Chinese are a more athletic people than the Hindus. They have been for many ages united under one government and law. The Hindus, on the contrary, have never existed in such a state, but have been immemorially divided into many petty principalities—an indisputable proof of weakness and barbarism. In the memory of history, the Chinese have been but twice conquered by strangers, and in both cases the strangers have adopted the laws and manners of China; in a word, have become Chinese. For the last eight hundred years the Hindus have been subdued by every strange people that had the power to invade their country, and they have been compelled to adopt the laws of the conquerors. The Hindus have invented nothing, that I am aware of, except the culture of the cotton plant and the manufacture of fabrics from it; but the Chinese have given to the world tea, porcelain, silk, paper, sugar, and the art of printing. There is nothing that so clearly indicates the superiority of the Chinese over the Hindus as the relative value of their manual labour. A skilled Chinese will earn, in the same market, full three-fold the wages of a Hindu, simply because he either does thrice as much work or does his work proportionately better. At this moment the Chinese are performing work in the gold mines of California and Australia, for which Hindus are no more fit than they are to perform the labour of English navigators.

The Negroes of Africa are in physical strength nearly equal to Europeans, at least equal to Chinese, and far superior to Hindus; but in intellectual endowment—and hence in civilization—they are far below even the last of these. They have never, like them, invented letters; nor have they adopted the letters of other nations. They have never, like the Hindus and other eastern nations, had the skill to tame the elephant, which abounds in their forests as much as in the forests of India. A Phenician nation, the Carthaginians, a people of the same blood as the Jews, the cleverest of all Asiatics, showed the Africans, two thousand years ago, how to tame the elephant, but they would not be taught.

The nations of Asia first, and then those of Europe, quickly discovered the secret of the mental incapacity but physical strength of the Negroes, their docility, in short, their aptitude for the condition of slavery, and they have immemorially made slaves of them. At present there are probably not fewer than

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six millions of them in the New World and its islands—a standing scandal and reproach to the superior race.

The race that inhabits Europe, the white man, is probably pretty nearly on an equality in all its varieties, the difference in social state arising only from the conditions, more or less favourable, under which the varieties which compose it have been placed. Its vast superiority over all the other races has been proved in a thousand ways, for more than twenty centuries. It would be useless to attempt a comparison, for that would prove rather a contrast than a parallel; but I may briefly refer to a few of the most salient points in which they differ. The European never stands still, but is constantly improving. The Asiatic, on the contrary, makes an early, and for early times, even a respectable progress; but having gone so far, he stands fast on the ancient ways, and it is hard to make him move an inch. He is, in fact, an obstinate, inveterate, provoking conservative—such a one as ought to make people ashamed of the very word. I will give you a few examples. The Hindus were clothed in fine cottons, and daintily fed, while Britons were clad in the skins of wild beasts. We had not a shirt to our backs at the time when the Hindus manufactured muslin; and now we send "shirtings" to the Hindus, made out of their own cotton, or of cotton far better than their own.

The Chinese discovered the polarity of the magnet long before Europeans, but they used the magnet as a toy only. They have seen Europeans for more than three centuries circumnavigating the globe and visiting their own shores, but even now they hardly use the mariner's compass. Their ship are of the form which we fancy to have been that of Noah's ark—an oblong square box, with two eyes at the prow, to give it the look of a sea-monster, which, indeed it is, without the eyes. These people go in thousands to California and Australia, in search of gold; but they cannot go to these places in the square boxes in question, and have to be conveyed in European ships. They invented gunpowder long before we did, but confined its application to the making of ingenious fire-works, and its effective use in war they acquired, and but very imperfectly, from Europeans; yet to this day persevering much in the use of the now ridiculous bow and arrow.

The Chinese were in possession of the art of printing for centuries before it was discovered by Europeans, but with them it is still what it was in the beginning—stereotype by wooden blocks—and printing by moveable metallic types is still unknown to them. They have one newspaper for four hundred millions of people—the *Pekin* or *Imperial Gazette*—

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and although it contains the edicts of "The Son of Heaven," I have reason to think that a single number of any English daily newspaper contains more sense and knowledge than a whole year's publication of this literally unique journal.

One other distinction between the European and Asiatic races consists in the absence, with the latter, of what may be called a personal individuality. The scythe of despotism wielded by one mower, as it were, mowes down all to one common level. Thus the Chinese discovered the valuable arts of paper-making, printing, and porcelain, with the wonderful one of manufacturing the most beautiful of all textile fabrics from the entrails of a caterpillar; but they ascribe these inventions, not to the real discoverers, who are unknown, but to an emperor or an empress, which is about the same thing as if the doctrine of gravitation were attributed to Queen Anne, the discovery of the circulation of the blood to Charles II or Nell Gwynne, the spinning-jenny and steam-engine to George III, and the railway to George IV.

The second condition affecting civilization is locality, and it is a very important one. A locality favourable to the development of civilization should have a fertile soil, be amply supplied with water, be free from forest, have a sufficient extent of level land, and be difficult of access to nomadic tribes predestined by the nature of the land they occupy, to a roaming and predatory life.

Fertility of soil becomes an accessory of early civilization, by the facility which it affords to rude industry of raising the greatest amount of produce with the least amount of labour. An element of this fertility, more especially in warm climates, is a copious and perennial command of water for irrigation, a process which usually increases the productive powers of the soil, according to the degree of heat, the supply of water, and the nature of the crop from two up to tenfold, and which, indeed, is capable of making the sterile sand itself fertile, as we find it to do in several parts of India.

An open plain, clear of forest, seems indispensable to the rise of any respectable amount of early civilization, and a heavy forest an insuperable obstacle to it. The reason is obvious. In the early stage of society, the timber of such a forest is but a worthless incumbrance; and the mere labour of clearing it for cultivation is an effort beyond the feeble skill and labour of the savage, in his first efforts at progress. In many parts of the east, the rudest husbandry consists in partially felling the timber and burning it, and without attempting the arduous task of grubbing up the roots, taking a single crop from the virgin soil, and then abandoning the land until the wood springs up for a future crop to be taken in the same manner.

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Extent of territory is indispensable to civilization, by affording room for the growth of a people sufficiently numerous to have the power of preserving from the inroads of barbarous neighbours the knowledge it has accumulated, which knowledge is civilization itself. In mountains, narrow valleys, and small islands, no great and permanent civilization has ever sprung up. Such civilization will be found, among whatever race, to have originated in open and wide plains.

Long after civilization has made advances in the plains, barbarism will linger in the mountains. In our own country, Wales and the Highlands of Scotland are examples, as are Brittany in France, and Gallicia and the Asturias in Spain, in all of which rude languages still exist, although dying out, and, for the cause of civilization, deserving to die. Such localities are by no means confined to Europe. The mountains of India contain a score of rude nations absurdly called *aborigines*, merely because they are not Hindus in manners, speech, and religion. Even the mountains of China contain tribes of the same description, after the mass of the population has been civilized for thousands of years. The inhabitants of all such mountains pride themselves much on their freedom, but I suspect barbarism would be a fitter name.

The third condition affecting early civilization consists in the presence or absence of the plants capable of cultivation for food or clothing, and of the animals amenable to domestication for labour, food, or clothing. Without plants capable of cultivation, man must continue for ever a savage; and without some of the best of them, for ever a barbarian. The condition of the hunter seeking after the wild produce of the woods or desert, is the lowest stage of human existence; and that of the mere fisherman is but a variety of it. The precarious and wandering life which this state implies, is an obstacle to all social advancement. In the east, the occupations of hunters and fishermen, but more particularly the first, are confined to the meanest and lowest of the people, or to tribes which have been unable, from their adverse position, to emerge from the savage state.

But not only are cultivated plants and domesticated animals indispensable even to the earliest advances of civilization; the most valuable of both are necessary to any effectual amount of it. No people, it may be safely averred, ever attained any great civilisation without, for example, the possession of some cereal, and without having domesticated the horse, or the ox, or the buffalo. No evidence exists of a people emerging from barbarism, whose food consisted of the cocoa-nut, the banana, the date, the bread-fruit, sago, the potato, the yam, or the batata. Such articles are too easily produced, require too little skill and

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ingenuity to raise; and when they fail, there is nothing to fall back upon—nothing between the people cultivating them and starvation. They should be looked upon only as aids to subsistence, food to fall back upon in case of necessity; or for the practice of economy, to enable the consumer to add to his comforts in clothing and dwelling, by a more restricted use of bread-corn—ever a diet preferred, even by those whose habitual food is composed of cheaper articles. The higher too, the cereal the better, wheat standing at the top of the list in temperate regions, and rice in warm ones.

The fourth and last condition affecting an early civilization is intercommunication; which may take place through commerce, religion, settlement and colonization, or conquest. If the races commingling be of equal quality, or nearly so, as is the case with all the races of Europe, the less advanced is certain ultimately to gain by the admixture; and there are some European people (I suspect the inhabitants of these islands are among the number) who, but for their intercourse with more civilized nations, would hardly have emerged from mere barbarism.

When, on the other hand, the races intermingling are of unequal qualities, the superior runs the risk of deterioration, and the inferior even of extermination. Of this we have examples in the New World which will occur to every one.

I shall now endeavour to give a few examples in illustration of the conditions which I have enumerated, beginning with the nations who made the earliest advances. The ancient Egyptians, of whom the modern Copts are the representatives, were an unique people, neither African, European, nor Asiatic, but certainly partaking most of the latter. Although not intellectually a superior race, they were among the first to attain a respectable civilization. The Nile and its mud made them what they were, for had this stream not flowed through the Egyptian valley, they would at this day have continued to be such nomadic barbarians as roam still in the deserts east and west of the Nile. Mr. Buckle* fancies that the civilization of Egypt was owing to the valley of the Nile being productive of date-palms, a prodigious mistake, for the deserts of Africa and Arabia are often prolific in dates without ever having generated civilization. It was because the Egyptians, besides the date, possessed wheat, barley, pulses, and the ox, and that nature dressed and irrigated their country, that the Egyptians became numerous and civilized. Dates never would have enabled their cultivators to have built gigantic tombs for kings and for oxen in the shape of the pyramids.

* History of Civilization in England, by Henry Thomas Buckle.

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In Hindustan, civilization would seem to have sprung up at several distinct and independent points; but the most remarkable and pervading of these was that which arose in the upper valley of the Ganges, a wide and fertile plain, clear of forest; the scene, in a word, of the recent rebellion. This was the seat, at least in India, of the people with whom originated the Brahminical religion and the doctrine of the castes, and they were the people also of whom the Sanskrit language was the vernacular tongue. All the aids to an effectual civilization but one were possessed by this people. They possessed the best cereals, pulses, oil-yielding plants, plants yielding colouring matter, as the indigo and safflower, while the cotton plant was peculiarly their own. Among animals, the Hindus had domesticated the ox, the buffalo, the horse, the camel, the sheep, and the goat. They were probably the first to tame the elephant and reduce the giant to servitude—no small achievement. Some of the domestic animals are still found wild in their forests, as the elephant, the ox, the buffalo, and even the dog.

Nothing in India seems to have been defective but the race of man, and that this is of a quality inferior to many others is sufficiently testified by the facility with which the Hindus have been subdued by every conqueror, from Greek Alexander to Turkish Mahmood and English Robert Clive.

Chinese civilization sprang up in the wide, fertile plain watered by the Yangtse, the greatest river of the old world, and with which only those of the first magnitude in the new can compare. The 30th parallel runs through the locality of the origin of this civilization, so that as far as latitude is concerned, the climate corresponds generally with that of Egypt (another seat, as already mentioned, of early civilization), while it does not very far differ from that of the locality of the principal Hindu civilization. Independent of a fertile, clear, and well-watered plain of great extent, all the plants and animals necessary to an effective civilization, contributed their assistance to this Chinese civilization; and here were invented the manufacture of porcelain, silk, paper, written language, and printing. The plain watered by the Yangtse and its affluents is said to contain, at present, one hundred millions of souls; while the civilization of the original nucleus has spread, with wonderful uniformity, over a million and a half of square miles, and a population of four hundred millions of men. Practically, it is the highest that Asia ever produced, although bearing no just comparison, owing to difference of race, with the civilizations of Europe, ancient or modern. This was made plain enough when, some months ago, a few gun-boats, belonging to two

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European nations, with a population between them hardly equal to that of a single province of China, ran up a Chinese river, and dictated a treaty that violated the laws of an empire which had undergone little change for three thousand years—which had witnessed the rise, decline, and fall of the Assyrian, Egyptian, Persian, Roman, and Arabian empires.

The civilizations of Europe were of much more recent origin than those of the oriental races; but no one can fancy that the Asiatic races were superior to the European, and still less that man was earlier created in Asia than in Europe, and consequently has had a longer time for development; the fact, therefore, must be ascribed to the greater natural obstacles which the European races have had to contend against. In Europe, there existed no extensive fertile plains, clear from the incumbrance of forests, such as that of the Nile, the Tigris and Euphrates, the Ganges, and the Yangtse. Civilization sprang up first where the conditions were most favourable, in the fertile lands and temperate climates of Greece and Italy. I have neither time nor knowledge to enter into the important questions of Greek and Italian civilization; and I refer to them here chiefly because of the influence they exercised on the other races of Europe. The civilization which sprang up in Greece had a powerful effect on the Italian nations; but an independent and distinct civilization appears also to have arisen in Italy itself, at several different points, as we discover by the existence of ancient inscriptions in native characters, less known to us than the hieroglyphics of Egypt, since we have not, as with some of these, translations in the Greek language.

One of the civilized nations of Italy, speaking the Latin language, first conquered all the other nations of that peninsula, and eventually Spain and France, imposing on the subdued nations its own language, which in a broken, mixed, and bastard state, remains to them up to the present day. With the language of Rome, the conquered nations received its institutions and its civilization.

Roman conquest was arrested in the east by deserts and the presence of races incapable of amalgamating with the conquerors without deterioration, and hence incapable of adopting European civilization. To the north it was arrested by forests, by cold, by poverty, and by the indomitable courage of the inhabitants. The rude races of the north did not receive the benefits of Greek and Roman civilization at home as a conquered people. On the contrary; they issued from their own forests, and obtained it as conquerors.

But for their migrations, the natives of the north might have continued to this day such savages and barbarians as our fore-

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fathers undoubtedly were two thousand years ago. What the country and its inhabitants were that arrested the advance of the disciplined legions of Rome, I will describe to you in the graphic words of my friend, Mr. Thomas Carlyle;* who, speaking of Brandenburg, says, it was "a country of lakes and woods, of marshy jungles, sandy wildernesses, inhabited by bears, otters, bisons, wolves, wild swine, and certain shaggy Germans of the Suevic type, as good as inarticulate to Pythias." He adds, that the shaggy Germans in question were "men of blond, stern aspect, and great strength of bone, known to possess a formidable talent for fighting."

Pythias, the man who gave this account of our forefathers, was a Greek of Marseilles, and Mr. Carlyle considers him to have been a commercial traveller, or what we sometimes call a "bagman." He travelled about three hundred and twenty-seven years before the birth of Christ, when the Greeks were in a high state of civilization, Alexander conquering Persia and defeating innumerable Hindus (notwithstanding their elephants), on the banks of the Indus, and that, too, just as easily as Clive did their descendants at Plassey, some two thousand two hundred years after. The Greek mercantile agent in question was evidently going to the fountain-head in quest of amber, just as the Spaniards and Portuguese did in search of cloves and nutmegs, three centuries and a half ago.

The shaggy men of stern aspect, with a formidable talent for fighting, were of the same race that about eight hundred years later, in a rather buccaneer fashion, crossed the German ocean, invaded and conquered this country, and imposed its institutions and language on the greater number of its inhabitants. We may forgive them their buccaneering, since to them we owe Bacon and Newton, Shakespear and Milton, the steam-engine, the American republic (now as populous as the parent country), and the conquest of India. Assuredly no other race of men has ever achieved such things.

There are some extensive regions of the globe so unfavourably circumstanced, as to their physical circumstances, that no respectable amount of civilization has ever sprung up in them. This includes the deserts of Arabia and the steppes of Tartary, from the wall of China to the Caspian. The desert parts of Arabia, from the sterility of the land and the want of water, have never possessed any other than an erratic and predatory population. The part of Arabia in which the Mahomedan religion originated was not of this character, for the countrymen of Mahomed were not mere shepherds, but also agricul-

* History of Frederick the Great, by Thomas Carlyle.

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turists and traders. Although, however, the Arabs be the best race of all Asia, the Phenician excepted, they had made no figure in the history of the world, until in the seventh century of the Christian era, Mahomed, as Gibbon expresses it, "breathed the soul of enthusiasm into their savage bodies." Then, they sallied forth from Mecca and Medina; and in the course of little more than a century, conquered the Persian Empire, the native country of the Turks, the Asiatic portion of the Roman Empire, the African portion of the same empire, and the best portion of the Spanish Peninsula. Their dominion was of no long duration, for advancing into France, they were defeated by the Frankish chief, Charles Martel, and driven headlong out of the kingdom. After too long a continuance in it, the patrons of Columbus expelled them from Spain, banishing them to Africa, where they linger in a state of barbarism equal to that of their forefathers, when they entered on their course of conquest just one thousand two hundred and thirty-six years ago.

The coldness of the climate, the unsuitableness of the country for agriculture, but its suitableness for pasture, together, perhaps, with some inferiority of intellect in a very ugly race, have prevented the rise of civilization among the Tartar nations, by making them in all ages, more or less, migratory shepherds; their migrations being in some respects like that instinct of some of the lower animals, which urges them to move from one climate to another in search of food. They live by their horses, camels, oxen, sheep, and goats. Occasionally they have united under a warlike leader, and proved the scourge of civilized nations. Under Attila they ravaged Europe; and under Gengis and Timur they ravaged Asia. Their last feat was the conquest of China, which they effected twice over—once in the thirteenth and once in the seventeenth century. Gunpowder henceforth will make them utterly harmless, and they must continue in their Steppes, or be destroyed if they leave them.

I shall next give some examples, in illustration of my subject, from countries which have been the objects of my own special attention, the islands of the great Asiatic or Malay Archipelago, where I passed twelve years of my life. In this Archipelago, wherever there are plains forest-free with a fertile soil, there will always be found a very respectable civilization; and wherever the land is covered with a dense forest, we are certain to encounter barbarism. Although exactly the same race inhabits both localities, Java, and the two small islands immediately to the east of it, belong to the first class of islands. Their formation is volcanic: they contain mountains, some of

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which rise to the height of twelve thousand feet; and while of great natural fertility of soil, they are admirably watered by perennial streams. The three islands contain between them about twelve millions of civilized inhabitants, immemorially in possession of the useful arts and of a written language, invented in the principal island.

Opposite to the islands now named is Borneo, and not above two hundred miles distant. It belongs to the second category. It is one huge, unbroken mass of land, covered throughout with a forest always green and often impenetrable. Its native inhabitants are savages. They have domesticated the dog, the hog, and the common fowl, but not the ox, although a denizen of their forests. They consist of, probably, not fewer than one hundred different tribes and nations speaking as many different tongues, reminding one of the rudest parts of Africa and America. The two small islands just mentioned, called Bali and Lomboc, contain between them about a million and a half of inhabitants, which is probably more than the whole indigenous population of Borneo, which is eighty-fold their extent.

Another island of the Archipelago nearly equals Borneo in extent, New Guinea. Like it, it has a stubborn soil, and is universally forest-clad. Lying within the same parallels of latitude as Java, its inhabitants are even more rude than those of Borneo; but it will perhaps be pleaded that they are oriental negroes, differing from, but hardly less stalwart than those of Africa. Something must, no doubt, be allowed for this.

I have stated that no people could attain a respectable measure of civilization that was not in possession of one or other of the cereal corns, and of this the Indian Archipelago affords a striking illustration. The bread of the inhabitants of the Moluccas is sago, for their country is unfit for the production of rice. The possession of the clove and nutmeg, the coveting of which by the nations of Europe led to the discovery of a new world—to the practical discovery of India and China, and to the circumnavigation of the globe—did not serve them; for when first seen they were ignorant of letters, and even of the divisions of time by weeks, months, and years.

The almost innumerable islands scattered over the great Pacific Ocean afford some remarkable illustrations of the causes which have impeded the advance of civilization. They are inhabited by two principal and several minor races of man. Of the two principal races, one of a stature equal to the European, and of a nut-brown colour, occupies all the islands east of the Feejee group, and as far as Easter Island, and from the Sandwich to the New Zealand Islands, that is over 68° of latitude and 80° of longitude. Over this vast extent of the earth's surface, the

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unity of the race is proclaimed by a common physical form and by a common language. From the Feejee group on the east to New Ireland and New Caledonia west, a totally different race peoples the islands, much resembling the Negroes of Africa, but still far from being identical with them in physical form. These Negroes, instead of speaking one tongue, like the fairer race, speak a great diversity.

When first discovered, the fairer race was found to have made by far the greater advance in civilization. They cultivated the banana, the cocoa-palm, the bread-fruit, the yam, the batata or sweet potato, the taro (*Caladium esculentum*), the sugar-cane, and the orange. They possessed the hog, the dog, and the common fowl, although these were unequally distributed over the different islands. They had none of the larger quadrupeds, wild or domestic; none of the cerealia, no pulses, no textile material; and neither iron, nor, indeed, any other metal. The food of this people consisted of the banana and the bread-fruit; and their clothing was paper, made from the paper mulberry (*Broussonetia papyrifera*). The only communication with strangers more advanced than themselves which they had was with the Malayan nations, and that in times remote and unknown. What they learnt from this remote quarter, distant about four thousand miles, was not much, but still something, for they learnt from them how to count up to one thousand; and they obtained from them the cocoa-nut, the yam, the sugar-cane, and, perhaps, the sweet potato, all which is testified by the clear evidence of language.

Several of the islands had a fertile soil, and all had a genial climate; but with so few of the aids to civilization, no considerable advance could be expected, and it is only surprising how much had been accomplished with such scanty means.

One group or chain of three islands is equal in extent to Great Britain; and from its size and fertility, might have been, as it certainly is one day destined to be, the seat of an empire. This is New Zealand, lying within latitudes corresponding with the climates of Egypt, Greece, Italy, and the south of France. The race was here the same as that of the tropical islands; but, from having to struggle with a climate less soft, the people were more energetic and manly, the foremost, indeed, of all extra-European savages. They were, however, in a far ruder state than their brethren of the tropics, wanting the accessories to civilization possessed by the latter. In their climate, the banana, the cocoa-nut, the bread-fruit, and the yam would not grow; and all the cultivated plants they possessed in common with their tropical congeners, were the batata and the taro. Of domestic animals the New Zealanders

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had only dogs, and they were small in size and few in number. Indeed, this was inevitable, for these great islands had no wild quadrupeds except a little rat, which was in great esteem as food, and protected by Maori or New Zealand game laws. The New Zealanders were the most eminent of all man-eaters; and the illustrious Captain Cook early suggested the probability that the scarcity of other flesh may have led to the abomination. In the course of eighty short years the cannibals have become Christians, possess all the cultivated plants and domesticated animals of Europe, and ride English blood-horses on English saddles. Gibbon, some seventy years ago, quoted an old Roman writer, to show that about fifteen centuries ago certain tribes of Scotland, not far from the city of Glasgow, were probably cannibals; and he makes this reflection upon it, often quoted: "If in the neighbourhod of the commercial and literary town of Glasgow a race of cannibals has really existed, we may contemplate in the period of the Scottish history the opposite extremes of savage and civilized life. Such reflections tend to enlarge the circle of our ideas, and to encourage the pleasing hope that New Zealand may produce, in some future age, the Hume of the Southern Hemisphere." That is probable enough; but the great future historian will not be of the Maori, but of the Anglo-Saxon race, for the former is dying out, and fortunately in this case, not by gunpowder and brandy, but by amalgamation.

But now for illustrations from the vast New World. Such civilization as sprang up in America (a feeble and imperfect one) was confined to the table land of the Andes, from eight thousand to ten thousand feet above the level of the sea, where the absence of excessive heat and moisture allowed of the existence of plains and valleys unencumbered by unconquerable forest. In such a locality sprang up the Mexican or Aztec and the Peruvian civilizations. The red race, which inhabited the plateau of the Andes, was not of a high order, physical or intellectual, and all the other conditions necessary to the promotion of an early civilization were either absent or defective, locality alone excepted. The Mexicans and Peruvians possessed one cereal, and that one not of the highest order—maize; and they had the banana and the cocoa-nut. For the horse, the ass, the ox, the buffalo, the elephant, the camel, the sheep, the hog, and the goat of the old world, they had domesticated, to furnish them food, labour, and clothing, only three small feeble animals of the camel family, the Llama, the Alpaca, and Vicuña, all still found in the wild state—in this particular differing from the greater number of the domesticated animals of the old world, and implying the rude-

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ness, lateness, and imperfection of American native civilization. The most powerful of the three animals in question, the Llama, is capable of carrying about one-sixth part of the load of a camel, that is one hundred pounds weight instead of six hundred. None of these animals were fit for draught, and hence the plough and wheel carriage were unknown to the Mexicans and Peruvians.

The poultry-yard of the Mexicans and Peruvians contained but one bird, although certainly that one very respectable, the turkey. The paucity of American animals capable of domestication, or at all events which have been domesticated, is surprisingly small compared with those of the Old World. The musk-ox, the elk, and the bison are the only large wild ruminants of America; and they would seem to be incapable of domestication. All this is the more remarkable, since the domesticated animals of Europe, Africa, and Asia, now thrive equally in America as well as in their native countries.

The Aztecs, and other nations of the Cordilleras of the Andes, were in possession of one textile material—cotton, and they wove fabrics from it. They had a knowledge of gold, silver, copper, and tin; but had not, like other nations of the Old World who had made any advance, acquired the important art of making iron malleable. For cutting instruments, they used an alloy of copper and tin, and in this manner had a vast advantage over the South Sea Islanders, who were obliged to have recourse to jade and fishbones; and even over our own forefathers, of remote but unknown antiquity, who fashioned their bows and arrows, and also shaved themselves, if they shaved at all, with such flint knives as have been found in caves and excavations—bearing not the least resemblance to the cutlery of Sheffield or Birmingham.

From Italy to Japan, many nations had invented written languages, either hieroglyphic or phonetic; but neither the inhabitants of the Andes nor any other American people had done so. Confining myself to the region with which I am most familiar, I may mention, that in the Indian and Philippine Islands, no fewer than nine separate and independent alphabets, obsolete or in use, exist to the present day, a singular contrast to mighty America, which had not invented even one.

No civilization worth notice, as I have said, has ever sprung up in America beyond the plateau of the Andes, and this seemingly not on account of heat or of cold, but chiefly on account of the vast forests which equally covered its temperate, its cold, and its equatorial regions; which were not only insuperable obstacles to agriculture, but which also, by the abundance of their game, seduced the inhabitants to continue the

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agreeable and adventurous, but savage life of the hunter and fisherman. It has been asserted that no considerable civilization ever sprung up within the tropics, but this is a palpable mistake, for the Hindu civilizations of the Canarese, the Tamils, and Telingas or Gentous, all originated within the Tropics; the islands of Java, Sumatra, and Celebes, which had their independent civilizations, are far nearer to the equator than Cuba or Hispaniola, whose inhabitants were little better than savages.

I may conclude this paper by examples drawn from races, whose advance, from the unfavourable conditions under which they existed, was either very difficult or wholly impossible. The island of Madagascar is three times the size of Great Britain, and inhabited by a peculiar race of negroes, who have been known to Europeans for three centuries and a half, and in this long period, left in a great measure to themselves, they have hardly made any appreciable advance in civilization. They have immemorially cultivated the banana, the cocoa-nut, the yam, and rice, the chief cereal of the Tropics. They have domesticated the dog, the hog, the goat, and the ox. In some mysterious manner, and seemingly at a very remote time, they have had the benefit of some communication with strangers more civilized than themselves. These strangers were the Malayan people of the Indian Archipelago, although the nearest of them is three thousand miles distant from Madagascar. From them they received their entire numeral system, and such commodities as rice and the yam, with malleable iron; while, we find in their language a good many Malayan words besides these, implying advance in the arts. This is incontestably proved by the evidence of language.

Notwithstanding all these advantages, the people of Madagascar never invented letters themselves, nor adopted those of other nations. Their superstitions are grovelling, but not sanguinary, and they have adhered to them with great pertinacity, having rejected the Mahometanism of their no very distant neighbours the Arabs, and in our own time, Protestant Christianity presented to them under very favourable auspices. It is difficult to ascribe their backwardness to anything else than inferior capacity of race.

In the vast continent of Australia, soil and climate excepted, nearly every condition indispensable to early development was wanting. The race was the same throughout, an ill-formed black man, as well within as without the tropic. The land produced neither esculent fruits, nor roots, nor any corn, and no exotic of any of these had been introduced. Even the banana and cocoa-nut did not exist within the tropical part of

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this great continent. There existed no bird amenable to domestication, and, the dog excepted, no quadruped. With strangers from whom instruction might have been acquired, the Australians had no beneficial intercourse. The Malay nations, who visited their northern coast in search of the sea-cucumber for the Chinese market, alone communicated with them, but taught them nothing. Under conditions so depressing, the rise of civilization was impossible. In the same land in which the naked Australians were feeding on grubs and dead whales, a superior race, in possession of all the attributes of civilization, is now rapidly constructing an empire.

But I can name a race in a still more unfavourable condition than the Australian. This consists of the inhabitants of the Andaman Islands, a chain extending to the length of three degrees of latitude in the middle of the Bay of Bengal; and where we have recently formed a convict establishment for the reception of our mutinous sepoys. The whole of this narrow chain is covered with a deep forest of tall trees, and for half the year drenched by the periodical rains. The largest animals in this wilderness are monkeys and a small species of hog. The race of man is here a diminutive negro, the men some two inches short of the average stature of European women. There is nothing resembling them, until we come to the mountains of the Malay Peninsula, a distance of six hundred miles, and nothing again until we reach the Philippines, four thousand miles from the Andamans, but in both those localities we find negroes equally diminutive.

The Andaman islanders are naked houseless savages, mischievous and vindictive. They live in a state of normal hostility to all strangers, who retaliate by shooting them, as they would the beasts of the forest. Some years ago, a German traveller, Mr. Helfer, accompanied by his wife, visited the Andamans, with the hope of obtaining some information respecting them. As their boat approached the shore, they were watched by the natives, and Mr. Helfer had no sooner landed on a rock than he was transfixed and killed by the spear of one of the savages, discharged from behind a bush. Madame Helfer, who was well armed, drew a pistol from her girdle and shot him dead on the spot. I have had the pleasure of making the acquaintance of this very handsome woman, and could fancy she had courage equal to such an exploit. She was the niece of Baron Bulow, one of the heroes of the war of 1814.

The Andaman islanders seem to live almost exclusively by fishing, for their forests yield them no resource. They have no art, except that of fishing, and for this they have little canoes; and it is difficult to imagine how, under so many privations,

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they could have acquired any. Within eighty miles of them exists the Malayan race, inhabiting the Nicobar group, a docile and gentle people, cultivating the banana, the cocoa-nut, and the yam, and possessing the domestic dog, the hog, and common poultry. Within three hundred miles of them are the Burmese and Peguans, immemorially possessed of arts and a literature.

On the illustration afforded by the Esquimaux, it is hardly necessary to insist. This wide-spread people, dwelling always in a rigorous climate, and sometimes even within the Arctic circle, have yet the complexion, the stature, and a good deal of the features of the Malays, whose abode is on the very equator. There is the same squat form, the same yellow colour, the same lank black hair, and the same beardless chin; and yet the Esquimaux would perish at the equator and the Malay in the neighbourhood of the Arctic circle. In the ice-bound regions inhabited by the Esquimaux, plants useful to man will not grow; and the only animal domesticated by the Esquimaux is the dog, which to them is what the horse, the ass, and the camel is to more favoured races. They live by hunting and fishing, and are expert in these pursuits, both land and water abounding in animal life for their subsistence. They seem as if exclusively carnivorous; but the blubber of the whale and the oil of the seal furnishing them with the carbonaceous matter necessary to life, they are virtually omnivorous, like all the rest of mankind. Supplied with abundance of food, the Esquimaux are well clothed in furs, so that they are, notwithstanding the severity of their climate, a more comfortable people than many other races, living in more genial regions.

I shall take the last illustration from the condition of the natives of Terra del Fuego, which seems to me to be the very extreme of misery. You will remember that the country inhabited by this people lies in about the 55° of south latitude—a land of rain, sleet, snow, and storms, and unsheltered from the cold of the South Pole. The aspect of the country presents a conglomeration of closely-packed forest-clad mountains, without a nook of level ground. My friend Mr. Charles Darwin thus describes it: "When," says he, "we reached the hill, we found it the highest in the immediate neighbourhood, and the water flowed to the sea in opposite directions. We obtained a wide view over the surrounding country. To the northward, a swampy moorland extended; but to the southward, we had a scene of savage magnificence well becoming Terra del Fuego. There was a degree of mysterious grandeur in mountain behind mountain, all covered by one thick, murky mass of forest. The atmosphere, likewise, in

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this climate (where gale succeeds gale with rain, hail, and sleet), seems blacker than anywhere else. In the Straits of Magellan, looking due south from Port Famine, the distant channels between the mountains appear, from their gloominess, to lead beyond the confines of this world."

But now for the people whose hard lot it is to dwell in this land of desolation. A party lands from the surveying ship, and here is Mr. Darwin's account of his first meeting with a band of the savages: "It was," says he, "without exception, the most curious and interesting spectacle I had ever beheld. I could not have believed how wide was the difference between savage and civilized man. It is greater than that between a wild and a domesticated animal, inasmuch as in man there is a greater power of improvement. Among the central tribes, the men generally possess an otter skin, or some small scrap about as large as a pocket handkerchief, which is barely sufficient to cover their backs as low down as their loins. This is laced across their breasts by strings, and, according as the wind blows, it is shifted from side to side. But these Fuegians in the canoe were quite naked, and even one full-grown woman was absolutely so. It was raining heavily, and the fresh water, together with the spray, trickled down her body. In another harbour, not far distant, a woman, who was suckling a recently-born child, came one day alongside the vessel and remained there, whilst the sleet fell and thawed on her naked bosom and on the skin of her naked child. These poor wretches were stunted in their growth, their hideous faces bedaubed with white paint, their bodies filthy and greasy, their hair tangled, their voices discordant, their gestures violent without dignity. Viewing such men, one can hardly make oneself believe they are fellow-creatures, and inhabitants of the same world. It is a common subject of conjecture, what pleasure in life some of the less-gifted animals can enjoy. How much more reasonably the same question may be asked with respect to these barbarians. At night, five or six human beings, naked and scarcely protected from the wind and rain, sleep on the wet ground, coiled up like animals. Whenever it is low water, they must rise to pick shell-fish from the rocks; and the women, winter and summer, either dive to collect sea-eggs, or sit patiently in their canoes, and with a baited hair-line jerk out small fish. If a seal is killed, or the floating carcass of a putrid whale is discovered, they are feasts. Such miserable food is assisted by a few tasteless berries and fungi."

After drawing this faithful picture of the condition of the Fuegians, Mr. Darwin makes the following remark, in the true spirit of philosophy: "There is no reason to believe that the

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Fuegians decrease in number: therefore, we must suppose that they enjoy a sufficient share of happiness (of whatever kind it may be) to render life worth having. Nature, by making habit omnipotent and its effects hereditary, has fitted the Fuegian to the climate and productions of his country."

It is superfluous to add that the Fuegians cultivated no plant, and domesticated no animal, their highest skill in the arts consisting in eliciting fire from the friction of two dry sticks, and the forming of a canoe, by the hollowing out of a log of wood. Yet they were of the very same race with the men who, on the favoured plateau of the Andes, cultivated the maize and cotton plants, domesticated the llama and the turkey, and built great temples.

Such savages as I have now been describing, are the men whose condition was envied by a very eloquent but very eccentric philosopher of the last century; but I imagine a week's residence—even a night's lodging with the Fuegians would have brought Jean Jacques Rousseau to a saner conclusion. Meanwhile, I think I may safely congratulate you that you are not the red men of Terra del Fuego, but civilized white men and accomplished women, the humblest amongst you having the power of enjoying more of the comforts and pleasures, physical and intellectual, of life, than the proud lords of a horde of ten thousand barbarians.

XIV.—*On the Miautsze or Aborigines of China.* By WILLIAM LOCKHART, Esq., F.R.C.S., Corresponding Member of the Ethnological Society of London, etc., etc.

MUCH of the empire of China with which we are best acquainted consists of the large plains that lie near the mouths of the rivers as they find their way to the sea-board, and it is here that the important localities for our trade are situated. The interior of the country is richly diversified; the land rises considerably towards the hilly districts, that slope from the chains of mountains that traverse all the western provinces and spread themselves out through the central parts of the country, being, in fact, the eastern spurs of the Kwan-lun and Himalaya ranges, that rise in northern India to a vast height, and gradually pass down on the north and south of Tibet towards China.

The Kwan-lun range passes into the northern and central provinces of China, and the Himalaya into the southern and south-western provinces; while the Tien-shan or celestial

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mountains, and the Altai chain pass into Mongolia and Mantchouria, or Chinese Tartary.

In the mountainous regions the country is very beautiful, and combines the varieties of scenery found in other similar districts. Many of these portions of the empire are brought into communication with the sea coast by means of the large rivers that flow through all the rich and fertile central provinces, offering great facilities for the interchange of the various productions of distant parts of the empire. Their rivers form, indeed, the high roads of the country.

For purposes of communication in the mountains, and to facilitate the transit of goods, many roads have been cut at great expense and with vast labour over the passes between the high ridges.

The great road from Pekin to the south-west, through Shen-si to Sze-chuen, is by a mountain route, which required great ability and skill to make passable. Many years were spent in this work, and it is a monument of the patience and perseverance by which it has been effected; by it officers and merchants continuously travel between the capital and the western frontier. There is also another road from Shan-si to Kan-suh, which is one of the most extensive works of the kind in China. Besides these grand trunk roads, there are several other mountain routes, by which goods are carried from province to province across the mountains, and one may be mentioned well known to Europeans—the Mei-ling pass, over the range between Kwang-tung and Kiang-si; it is twenty-four miles long, and over it all the tea and silk that go to Canton are carried on men's shoulders.

Much might be said regarding these mountain roads of China, but it is impossible to enter upon the subject to greater extent on this occasion. It is among the mountains that have thus been described, and in the valleys that they enclose, that many tribes of people dwell who are probably the Aborigines or natives of the land.

The great mass of the people who inhabit China are those who dwell in cities, villages, and hamlets, cultivating the country, following the pursuits of commerce, and acknowledging the authority of one emperor—these may be considered to be the Chinese people; but in the islands of Formosa and Hainan, as well as in the western frontier, dwell those native savage tribes who acknowledge no authority to the Emperor of China, dwell among their own hills, and have ever maintained their independence.

The island of Formosa is divided from north to south by a chain of mountains, that, as it were, cut the island in two.

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On the western side live the Chinese, who, passing from the province of Fuh-kien, have gradually driven away the original inhabitants to the eastern side. These people are savage and untameable in every respect, and attack all who pass the boundary between the two sides of the island. They live in a constant state of hostility with the settlers on the west coast, and are very troublesome to them, requiring constant vigilance and care, to guard against their attacks. There is some trade carried on by barter through certain of the Chinese who have obtained an acquaintance with the language spoken by these people, and acquired sufficient influence to be able to some extent to sustain intercourse with them. But this barter trade is ever liable to interruption from acts of hostility that are perpetually in progress, so that the dwellers on the two coasts of this island are in constant antagonism. The Chinese also, gradually, but constantly, encroach on the lands occupied by the natives, and this keeps up the strife between them. Some of the tribes of these people become associated with the Chinese and work the mines in the mountains; but, for the most part, the natives forbid all intercourse, and acknowledge only their own chiefs or rulers, who keep up a kind of government over them. Their occupations are the cultivation of the ground, fishing on the coast, and weaving coarse cloth, many of the people wash the sand of certain districts for gold, which is found in small quantities also in the river beds. Various wild animals frequent the forests on the mountains, and are hunted by the natives armed with spears and bows and arrows.

Various opinions are entertained as to the religious opinions of these natives, who appear not to be wholly idolators. Some of the tribes have a tradition of a Supreme God who created the world, but their knowledge is very imperfect, indistinct, and indefinite.

It is in Formosa that the *Auralia papyrifera* is found. The pith of this plant when cut into thin leaves, forms what is called rice-paper, much used in China for making artificial flowers, and also as a fine paper on which the well-known paintings are made. Mr. Fortune saw this plant growing wild on the hill sides and in the valleys of this island, where it is evidently indigenous, but is also cultivated in large quantities for the sake of the pith.

There are also native tribes who inhabit the mountain districts of the island of Hainan, who are not subject to Chinese rule. The Chinese live on the eastern coast of this island and cultivate all the plains that edge the coast; the harbours are commodious for Chinese boats, and are large fishing stations, whence the cities of southern China are supplied with salt fish, and thus a

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large trade is maintained; but the natives dwell by themselves and keep up their independence and separation from the intruders on their coast; they, however, have more intercourse with them than there is between the different races in Formosa.

It would appear that the race now called the Chinese people, spreading over the magnificent country they had found, drove back the Aborigines, or, as they are called, the 'sons of the soil' —those on the coast taking refuge in these islands of Formosa and Hainan, while those to the westward were compelled to seek their homes among the mountain districts of the western provinces, where they have since remained a separate people, divided into various tribes, ruled over by governors or chiefs of their own; some of them have taken office as soldiers in the imperial army, in which there are sections wholly composed of these races, but whether they form effective troops or not we have no means of knowing. During the war between England and China in 1842, some portions of the regiments garrisoning Canton were said to be composed of the Miautsze; nothing was heard of their ability and courage in the field; they doubtless suffer from the inability and indecision of the Chinese military officers, who are very different in character to their own native chiefs.

The mountainous regions of the Nan-ling and Mei-ling, between Kwang-si and Kwei-chau, give lodgment to many clans of the Miautsze, or "children of the soil," as the words may be rendered, and which they no doubt are. It is singular that any of these people should have maintained their independence so long, when so large a portion of them have partially submitted to Chinese rule; those who will not submit are called *sang* Miautsze, or wild and unsubdued, while the others are termed *shuh*, or subdued. This race presents so many physical points of difference as to lead me to infer that they are a more ancient race than the Chinese around them, and the Aborigines of southern China. They are smaller in size and stature, have shorter necks, and their features are somewhat more angular. The degree of civilization they have obtained is much below that of the Chinese. It is not known what language they speak, but the names given to parts of the body, and the common articles about their boats by some boatmen who visited Canton several years since, shewed that it was essentially different from Chinese.

In the southern portions of the province of Kwei-chau there are many military stations at the foot of the mountains, intended to restrain and keep in check the unsubdued tribes of the Miautsze who inhabit these lofty regions.

This name of Miautsze is used among the Chinese as a

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general term for all dwellers upon these mountains, but is not applied to every tribe by the people themselves. They consist of about forty tribes found scattered over the mountains in Kwang-tung, Hu-nan, and Kwang-si, as well as Kwei-chau, speaking several dialects, and differing among themselves in their customs, government, and dress. One tribe, inhabiting Li-po hien, is called yau-jin, wild men, and although they occasionally come down to Canton to trade, the citizens of that place firmly believe them to be furnished with short tails like monkeys.

They carry arms, and are inclined to live at peace with the lowlanders, but resist every attempt to penetrate into their fastnesses. The yau-jin first settled in Kwang-si, and thence passed over into Lien-chau, on the frontiers of Canton province, about the twelfth century, where they have since maintained their footing. Both sexes wear their hair braided in a tuft on the top of the head, but never shaven and tressed as the Chinese, and dress in loose garments of cotton and linen—earrings are in universal use among them. They live at strife among themselves, which becomes a source of safety to the Chinese, who are ill able to resist these hardy mountaineers. In 1832 they broke out into active hostilities against the Chinese, and destroyed several parties of troops sent to subdue them, but were finally induced to return to their retreats by offers of pardon and presents granted to those who submitted.

A Chinese traveller among the Miautsze says, that "some of them live in huts constructed upon the branches of trees, in mud hovels. Their agriculture is rude, and their garments are obtained by barter from the lowlanders in exchange for metals and grain, or are woven by themselves. The religious observances of these tribes are carefully noted, and whatever is connected with marriages and funerals. In one tribe it is the custom for the father of a new-born child, as soon as its mother has become strong enough to leave her couch, to get into bed himself and there receive the congratulations of his acquaintances, as he exhibits his offspring. Another class bear the counterpart of the maypole and its dances, which, like its corresponding game, is availed of by the young men to select their mates. It is said there are about fifty tribes of these people, but no estimate can be formed of their numbers. Many vigorous efforts have been made by the monarchs of the present dynasty to subdue these hill tribes, but they have all failed, and the general government now contents itself with keeping them in check, or in efforts to induce them by kind treatment to reside on the plains."

The chief source of information about these Miautsze is a

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series of drawings—one of the most perfect of such series that has been obtained is now offered for inspection—they bear internal evidence of having been taken from authentic sources, and are so natural in their design, that they generally unfold a piece of history without the help of note or comment.

Each group is accompanied by a short description of the people to which it refers; and each sketch, by enlarging or contracting the hand-writing, is made to fill a single page; opposite to which, as the book is opened, there is an illustrative coloured picture.

These people are interesting from the fact that they must have a variety of ancient customs among them, and also because they are the sons of freedom; and therefore, however great may be the difference between us and them in language, dress, religion, and pursuits, they have a certain affinity with us, and may one day bid us a very hearty welcome to the land of their forefathers. They are dispersed, as we have seen, over the mountains of the southern and central parts of China, and live in a changeable state of relationship to the Chinese around them; sometimes they fight in open war, at others they rob and plunder, and sometimes they buy and sell.

These aboriginal tribes of China to a great extent live on the eastern slopes of the mountain ranges, whose western slopes in south-eastern Asia are peopled by the numerous tribes of Laos and Shans, and more particularly of the Karens, who are our tried and faithful adherents in the territory of Burmah, and there are probably strong marks of similarity of origin and identity of race between the Miautsze of China and the Karens of Burmah and Pegu.

The Jesuit missionary, Gabriel de Magaillans, who travelled over all the principal parts of China, arriving there in 1640 and remaining in the country till his death at Pekin in 1677, wrote accounts of much that passed under his observation. Speaking of the mountain districts of China, he says:—"The independent mountaineers of Sze-chuen, Yun-nan, Kwei-chau, and Kwang-si, pay no tribute to the emperor, nor yield him any obedience, being governed by absolute princes, whom the Chinese call 'local or native lords,' and 'local or native officers.' Their towns are, for the most part, environed with high mountains and steep rocks, as if nature had taken particular care of their fortification. Within these mountains lie extensive plains and fields, and many towns and villages. Though they speak the Chinese, they have a particular language also, and their manners and customs are likewise somewhat different from those of the sons of Han. Nevertheless,"

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adds our author, "their complexion and the shape of their bodies are altogether alike, but as to their courage, you would think them to be quite another nation; the Chinese stand in fear of them; so that after several trials which they have made of their prowess, they have been forced to let them live at their own liberty, and to consent to a free intercourse and traffic with them." He gives an account of one of the chiefs, who, with an army of forty thousand men, was beguiled and destroyed by a Chinese usurper—of this catastrophe he himself was an eye-witness.

The Miautsze in Kwei-chau have long been under Chinese control, but they retain all their own customs. It was in this region that they made a stand for their existence as a separate people against the armies of Kien-lung under the General Akwei in 1776. After he had partially subdued them, and their chief, Seng-ko-sang, was reduced to extremity, the emperor sent Père D'Aracha from Pekin to make a map of the country called Kin-chuen in this province and examine its resources. This missionary speaks of the impracticable roads, the frightful precipices, the waterfalls, morasses, and inaccessible rocks which met his eye as he entered the mountains. He says further, as illustrating the nature of the country, that in passing they saw a fortalice on an elevated spot, which his guides related had been taken not long before by a happy chance, after the army had besieged it more than two months with all the resources and skill at its command. One morning the guard heard the voice of a person approaching very cautiously. Perceiving that there was something making a noise, two or three of the most agile, by means of crampons on their shoes, clambered up there, and found a woman drawing water, whom they seized. On being asked who defended the fort for so long a time, she replied, "It is I. I wanted some water and came here before day, not thinking you would have discovered me." She then conducted them into the fort by a secret footpath, where they found that she was really the only person in the fort, and had defended it by rolling down stones upon the soldiers when they attempted to climb up, and firing off guns from time to time.

We may conclude this sketch in the words of the Chinese traveller who wrote his observations among this people, and from whose drawings the pictures were made.

"Whenever I have extended my rambles to other provinces and noticed remarkable views or objects, I have always taken notes and sketches of them, not that I supposed these could be called fine or beautiful, but because they gratified my own feelings. Still I think that among all these views and natural

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objects—the flowers, birds, animals, etc., there were some singular and rare forms, which may be called curious. Moreover, having seen the people in Kwei-chau province scattered in various districts and places—both those whose customs are unlike, and also the different customs in the same tribes; having utensils of strange shapes and uses, not discriminating in their food between that which was ripe and that which was raw; having dispositions sometimes gentle and at other times violent; having seen their agriculture and manufactures; having noticed that the men played and the women sang, or the men sang and the women danced; also having viewed their hunting deer and of trapping rabbits, which are the products of the hills, and their spearing fish and netting crabs, the treasures of the waters; their manner of cutting out caves in the hills for residences, and of framing lofts from bamboos in trees for lodgments, all of which usages were unique and diverse: these, I thought, were still more remarkable.

"Then I perceived that there are both common and rare things in the world, and races unlike common people, and this induced me to record my observations among the tribes of this people." Many particulars might be given regarding the manners and customs of this people, but a few only of the more prominent circumstances relating to them will be alluded to.

The tribes are called by various names needless here to catalogue.

Among some of the tribes the men go out in large numbers upon the hills and collect resinous juices from trees, or lacquer, which they store up in tubs and carry to the neighbouring cities in exchange for other articles. In other tribes, the men are chiefly employed in cultivating the ground. The women diligently engage in agriculture, weaving, and spinning, and some of them produce a very fine and beautiful cloth which is much sought after by the Chinese traders, who pay high prices for the fabrics of certain districts—these articles are of silk, linen, cotton, and wool in different regions. The Chinese themselves do not wear woollen goods, and it is surprising that they have never acquired this art, when the Miautsze have long practised it. In some of the tribes the men will not submit to the labour of cultivation of the ground, and joining together, plunder travellers, or make descents on the plains and rob the Chinese villages.

Among the deeper recesses of the mountains, tribes are said to exist who are much addicted to robbery and even murder, and who eat the victims that thus fall into their hands.

Among some of the tribes a knowledge of letters is possessed, either of Chinese books or of their own written language,

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which is supposed to be engraved on slips of wood or carved on palm leaves. Some have no knowledge of any written language or of a regular calendar. For records of events they use pieces of carved or notched wood. Some tribes have writings on sections of wood in the seal character, which are taken great care of, and may be of much interest from their antiquity.

Among their amusements they appear to be most fond of a rude sort of music, produced by the drum and a kind of flute or pipe—also by castanets—the young men and women follow these amusements, sometimes accompanied with dancing, and spend much of their time in this manner.

The chief circumstance that has attracted the attention of our traveller is the marriage ceremony among the various tribes, and from his general description we may gather that the women are not secluded as in most eastern countries, but have a large amount of liberty, and appear to make the choice themselves of those who are to be their companions for life.

This selection, whether on the part of the men or the women, appears to be generally made at occasional village festivities, which are probably instituted for the purpose of affording this opportunity to both parties.

The women are often described as of a light complexion and intelligent; they stitch and embroider, and are skilled in chess-playing, and delight themselves in throwing the ball. Those with whom they have formed an intimacy they call their ma-long, or knight, and drink wine with them, not being prohibited from doing so even when it is known by their parents. They take care, however, on those occasions, to avoid meeting their brothers. If mutually pleased with each other, presents are made and the marriage is consummated.

Further extracts might be given, but enough has been said to illustrate the general character of these aboriginal tribes.

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XV.—*On the Physiological and Psychological Evidence in support of the Unity of the Human Species.* By ROBERT DUNN, F.R.C.S., Eng.*

IN two former communications to this Society,—One "*On the varying forms of the Human Cranium, viewed in connection with the outward circumstances, social state, and intellectual condition of man;*" and the other, "*On the Tegumentary differences which exist amongst the different races of men*",—I have enforced the argument for the unity of the human species. But to my mind, the evidence which is furnished by physiology and psychology on the same subject is equally conclusive, and I have on the present occasion to solicit your attention to some observations bearing on this view of the question, and which, unless I am greatly mistaken, tend to strengthen and confirm the conviction, that the genus *Homo* is one. I make no apology, for asking the attention of the Society to considerations on a subject so strictly and decidedly physiological and psychological; for, on a review of the past, I am quite sure no one can accuse us of indulging too freely or too often in such themes, at our evening meetings. On the contrary, indeed, to me it is a marvel, that papers of a physiological bearing should have so rarely been read before us; and which, seeing that Ethnology comes legitimately within the province of the medical inquirer, can, I fear, only be accounted for by what is certainly a still far greater marvel,—that, in this great metropolis, so few of our medical brethren should be associated with us. It is true, that our society had its origin among them, and I well remember the enthusiasm which existed, and in which I participated, at the time of its inauguration. It is equally true, that its presidential chair is at the present time filled by a distinguished member of our profession,† and that it has not only been filled by a Brodie and a Conolly, but even by Dr. Pritchard himself,—our great ethnologist,—the founder of Ethnological science in this country; still, and I must say it,—ethnology, or at least the Ethnological Society of London, has not received from the medical profession of this great metropolis that general and cordial support which might have been expected, and to which I think it is entitled; for surely "the proper study of mankind, is man," in all his varieties and diversified aspects; and moreover, if there be one branch of the inquiry more interesting than another, it is unquestion-

* *Read, July 20th*, 1859. † Sir James Clarke, Bart.

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ably that in relation to the psychological differences which exist among, and which characterize, the different races of the great family of Man.

On a general survey of the whole animal kingdom, it must be conceded, that man is the only being adapted by his anatomical structure and organization to go erect, so that the graphic and descriptive contrast of the poet is not more pointed than it is just.

> "Pronaque cum spectent, animalia cetera terram,
> Os homini sublime dedit; cœlumque tueri
> Jussit; et erectos ad sidera tollere vultus."

The erect attitude, and biped progression are peculiarly and exclusively the prerogatives of man, and at a glance they reveal to us his most obvious and distinguishing characteristics. For those anthropomorphous animals whose structure and organization approximate the most to his are all *quadrumanus*, and having opposable *thumbs* upon their lower as well as upon their upper extremities, they are not fitted for the erect attitude, nor for biped progression, but they are admirably adapted and organized for living upon trees, for climbing, *grasping*, and *holding*;—in the expressive language of Cuvier, they are

> "Les grimpeurs, par excellence."

But they want, as firm supports for the erect posture and biped progression, the breadth, strength, and solidity of the human foot,—Man's large and prominent os calcis, with which to tread upon the earth; his capacious and expanded pelvis, as a basis of support to the upright trunk; and the length and strength of his lower limbs, for progression and support. It has been aptly remarked,—"No instance has ever been produced of a monkey supporting the body *in equilibrio* on *one foot only*, and that the cause of this prerogative of the human organization is to be found, in the breadth of the human foot, in the resting of its entire surface upon the ground, on the bony and muscular strength of the lower extremity, and in the length of the cervix femoris."*

The Myth of the *Wild-man* of the woods has vanished from among us, but, strange to say, Lamark's theory of the transmutation of species, and that man is the lineal descendant from the monkey, has been revived of late. This fanciful hypothesis has found a warm and zealous advocate in the popular author of *The Vestiges of the Natural History of Creation*;—one, of whom it has been truly said, "that his clear, pleasant, racy

* Lawrence's Lectures on the Natural History of Man.

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self-sufficient style, has captivated, when the dry, heavy, technical disquisitions and manuals of professors have disgusted;" and of whom the late gifted professor, Edward Forbes, has justly observed, that "The *man* who succeeds in half persuading the majority of his readers of his six editions, and a supplement to boot, that they and all mankind are the lineal descendants of mud-worms, and monkeys, and this too in spite of the protests of all living investigators of these several animals, anatomically and palæontologically considered (man included) has a power within him which might be turned to better purposes, and when he has added *knowledge to that power*, will, we trust, do so, calmly confessing his sins and publicly recanting his faith in the transmutation of species."* This ingenious advocate admits his inability to indicate the branch of the simian family from which we are the lineal descendants; nor has he been pleased to inform us, whether he holds to the opinion of Monboddo and Rousseau, and believes with these philosophers, that men like their reputed ancestors, had originally tails. But he does maintain the necessity of two local origins for the human race; one for the Asiatic, European, and American varieties, and another for the African; and that the former, he says, "seem to be connected with the great development of the Quadrumana in Southern Asia, and the latter with that of Western Africa. The Chimpanzee, and more especially the Troglodytes Gorilla, among apes and monkeys, may be *proximus huic;* still to man, even in his lowest and most degraded type, there can be no dispute that it is "*longo sed proximus intervallo.*" For, in the eloquent language of Professor Sedgwick, "Man stands by himself the despotic lord of the living world; not so great in organic strength as many of the despots that went before him on nature's chronicle, but raised far above them all by a higher development of brain; by a frame-work that fits him for the operations of mechanical skill; by superadded reason; by a special instinct for combination; by a prescience that tells him to act prospectively; by a conscience that makes him amenable to law; by conceptions that transcend the narrow limits of reason; by hopes that have no full fruition here; by inborn capacity of rising from individual facts to the apprehension of general laws; by a conception of a cause for all the phenomena of sense; and by a consequent belief in a God of nature."†

The barrier is indeed impassable which separates man from

* Literary Papers of Professor E. Forbes.
† Sedgwick's Discourse on the Studies of the University of Cambridge.

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the chimpanzee, and the claims to a *common humanity* are immediately recognised, for they are irresistible, wherever *two-handed* and *two-footed man* makes his appearance, however debased the type may be and mean the garb in which that humanity is clothed. Having already, however, whilst considering the varying forms of the human cranium, and the tegumentary difference which exists among the different races of men, indicated the legitimate inference to which such considerations so clearly and indisputably conduct us,—I need not now dwell upon those minor anatomical peculiarities which have been noticed among the different races of men; such as the differences of stature; the varying shapes of the pelvis; the cucumber skin of the negro; the elongation of his heels, and the breadth and flatness of his feet—for they present no valid objection, but, on the contrary, rather tend to strengthen and enforce the argument for the unity of the human species.

On entering, however, upon the consideration of the physiological evidence, the narrow limits of a paper like the present necessarily restrict me to its more salient points. Dr. Prichard, indeed, has exhausted the subject, and all naturalists and physiologists—and who, of all others, are the best qualified to form a correct opinion on the subject—have subscribed to the *truth* of Dr. Prichard's general axiom, that while on the one hand, the great laws of the animal economy, such, for instance, as those expressive of the periods and duration of life, the economy of the sexes, the phenomena of parturition and of reproduction, are *constant and regular in each* particular species of *animals*, with only occasional slight deviations, resulting from external influences, so, on the other hand, in regard to these same particulars, there is found to exist *decided differences* among races of animals which are specifically distinct, however much they may appear to resemble each other.

Now recognizing in this axiom a *physiological fact*, and applying it as a test of the unity of species in the case of the whole family of man, the legitimate inference is clear and indisputable.

First, in reference to age, there is a remarkable uniformity in the average duration of life among all the nations of the earth when placed under similar circumstances in regard to climate and modes of life. The extreme age of the Negro and American Indian is as great as that of the European. But the contrast between man and those anthropomorphous animals, whose organization approaches the nearest to his, is striking; the utmost limit to which the life of the troglodytes gorilla extends is not more than thirty years, and the age of the inferior species of the chimpanzee does not range so high.

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Secondly. As to the period of puberty, and the first appearance of the catamenial flux, there is found to exist great uniformity throughout the habitable globe. In proof of this, Mr. Roberton of Manchester, with great labour and indefatigable industry, has collected a mass of evidence from all parts of the world. He has established beyond contradiction that there exists no considerable difference either in the average period of puberty, or in the earliest date of menstruation, among the various tribes who are scattered over the whole habitable earth from the equator to the poles; and that neither does a cold climate retard, nor a warm one accelerate it, as has been popularly supposed. The only marked exception occurs in the case of the Hindoo females, with whom, on an average, the catamenial flux appears about two years earlier than it does among other nations. But Mr. Roberton justly, in my opinion, considers that the peculiar habits of the Hindoos tend in more ways than one to *force* forward the period of puberty. For instance, "It is the law of the Shastras, that females shall be given in marriage *before* the occurrence of menstruation, and that, should *consummation not* take place until after this event, the marriage is a *sin*. Accordingly it is the custom in Lower Bengal to send the girl at the age of nine years to the house of her husband, unless the latter be so distant that it cannot be done. And two ancient Hindoo sages are of opinion, that if the marriage is not consummated before the first appearance of the catamenia, the girl becomes "*degraded in rank.*" But at Bangalore it would seem that this revolting custom does not obtain, the husband refraining from taking his wife to his own house, till not less than sixteen days have elapsed subsequently to puberty. Now, as has been well observed, "it can scarcely be questioned, that such a premature sexual excitement will have a tendency to accelerate the period of puberty; and that when this is constantly acting through a long succession of generations, an early puberty may come to be the character of the race."

Again, according to Mr. Roberton's inquiries, the *frequency of the catamenial flux*, and *the epoch of life to which it extends*, are equally constant among different races, and the duration of pregnancy, as we are all well aware, is the *same* amongst *all*.

Thirdly. *As to the economy of the sexes.* The *fertility* of hybrid races, and even where the affinity is most remote, is beyond all dispute. Indeed, "*half-castes*" very generally combine the best attributes of the two races from whence they originate: thus, when the parents are Europeans on the one side, and the aborigines of any country on the other, we find the intelligence and mental activity of the

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European, and the climatic adaptation of the *native*, developed. It was, indeed, at one time believed, on the authority of Count Strzlecki, that when a native female of the American, Polynesian, or Australian races, has once been impregnated by a European male, she thenceforth loses all power of conception from intercourse with the male of her own race. But the utter baselessness of a belief so inconsistent with all the known facts connected with the history of the human races has been indisputably proved, so far as the aboriginal females of Australia are concerned, by Dr. F. R. H. Thomson, surgeon in the Royal Navy; and in proof of this, I need only remind you of the paper which he read before this society, and which is published in the third volume of its *Transactions*, "On the reported incompetency of the 'Gins,' or Aboriginal Females of New Holland, to procreate with a native male after having borne half-caste children to a European or white." Dr. Thomson, indeed, admits that, wherever European settlers are commingled with the Aborigines of Australia, the native race disappears. This, however, he maintains, does not arise *from any deviation* of nature's laws, "but because the European, wherever he takes with him his civilization, takes with him his vices also; so that drunkenness and syphilitic disease soon become rife among the neighbouring population and cause their decline. "We all know," says he, "that many tribes of both North and South American Indians are extinct, and that in the gradual disappearance of such races, there is a degree of infecundity connected with their decline, and with the advance of civilized life into their distant prairies; but it has resulted from the diseases, the altered habits, the enervating and depressing vices which the white man takes with him, when he goes forth to seek a new home in the land of savages." He thus concludes, "That the various races of mankind can commingle and procreate without losing the capability of reproducing again, with their peculiar division of the human species, is abundantly proven, wherever the European has turned his steps. Let it be to North or South America, India, Africa, Japan, China, Polynesia—the traveller will find the half-caste, the mulatto, the creole, the olive—too often the elder brother of the *jet black*—the brown, the olive, and unmixed younger children to confirm, what is now asserted confidently, to hold good of the Aborigines of New Holland."*

I cannot dismiss the consideration of the physiological evidence without adverting to the confirmation which the revelations of the microscope have given to the dicta of Holy Writ—

* Journal of the Ethnological Society, vol. iii, p. 246.

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that "*God has made of one blood all the nations of the earth, to dwell upon all the face of the earth;* for these prove to demonstration that human blood, whether from Caucasian, Mongolian, Æthiopian, or half-caste, presents the same identical corpuscles, and contains the same elementary constituents—in other words, that the blood is precisely the same in all the races of man.

We may now proceed to the most interesting and important branch of the whole inquiry—the *psychological:* for, beyond all dispute, it is in the *physical character* and *its manifestations* that the attributes of humanity essentially and peculiarly consist. Before entering, however, upon the consideration of the psychological evidence in support of the unity of the human species, it appears to me to be expedient for its better understanding and appreciation, to pass in review the leading phenomena of the mental states, taking a cursory glance as we proceed at the more prominent facts of comparative psychology.

Now the more closely we observe and diligently study the composite nature of man, as an animal and social, a moral and religious, as well as an intellectual and thinking being, the more clear and irresistible becomes the conviction, that the genus homo is endowed with innate and instinctive cravings and impulses—animal appetites and instincts; with personal or individual, and social propensities and affections; with emotional, moral, and religious intuitions and feelings, as well as with intellectual faculties, reasoning and reflective powers.

Man, of whatever race, is at first the mere creature of sensation and instinct. As soon as embryonic life is passed, and an independent individual existence is established, the nascent consciousness becomes awakened—the senses coming into play from the moment of birth. And thus his outer life begins with consciousness, and with consciousness it ends. But as for consciousness itself, that is an ultimate fact, beyond which we cannot penetrate. It is an essential attribute of animal life; not a particular faculty, co-ordinate with the other mental faculties, but the universal condition of intelligence. It is equivalent, in short, to the knowledge that we possess of our own personal identity, for it is implied in every sensation which we experience, and in every mental act that we perform —on *feeling*, *perceiving*, *willing*, and *thinking*. We are all aware that the great and fundamental mystery of life consists in the relations of consciousness, and of that dynamical agency, or intellectual force, which we call volition, or the will, to the functions of the special senses, and to those of the perception and intellectual faculties, which connect man as a sentient, percipient, and thinking being, with his own organization and

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with the world without. But consciousness is one and indivisible; its unity is the deepest and most indisputable fact in the nature of man, and we can best conceive of it in relation to time, not only as an incalculably rapid succession of acts or states, but as passing through a series of successive developments.

Now, there are three phases of consciousness common to all the races of man, successively developed,—the sensational, the perceptive, and the intellectual, and under these, all the mental phenomena of man, of whatever kind, are comprised and may be grouped. To *feel*, to *perceive*, and to *think*, in other words, *sensation*, *perception*, and *intellection*, are different and distinct acts or states of consciousness, successively developed. For we feel, before we can perceive, we perceive and form ideas before that we can think,—and long ere we can either reason or reflect, we manifest the animal instincts and the social propensities, affections and feelings. Self-consciousness as the earliest is necessarily the lowest phase of mental development, for in it the mind, at first, exists in a state of base receptivity; the senses, indeed, come into play from the moment of birth, but the intelligence is purely *sensational*, the feelings are simply those of pleasure and pain, and the impulses to action are innate and instinctive. All our actions are automatic reflex, consensual, and instinctive, until the perceptive consciousness has been developed. But I need not dwell upon the phenomena of the sensational consciousness,—that is, on the intuitions of the special senses,—sensori-motor, consensual, and instinctive feelings and actions, for these at least, beyond all dispute, are common to all the races of man.

And so too, it is equally evident, are the instinctive intuitions of the perceptive consciousness, for they are a common inheritance. The instincts, as the untaught activities of our animal nature, are *innate*, and as subjective feelings they arise in obedience to certain laws of our nature, or are brought into action in direct respondence to stimuli acting upon the sensational consciousness from *without*;—but, no sooner has the perceptive consciousness begun to dawn, than greater mental activity is manifested, increasing in intensity and energy, as the sphere of its action is widened; arising, not only from the direct conflict of the perceptive faculties with the external world, but also from the development of the will or intellectual force, and from the evolution and play of the individual or personal and social propensities and affections, and of the emotional, moral, and religious intuitions and feelings. For, in the second stage of our mental progress, *ideas* are formed and retained in the mind, for *memory* exists, *volitional power* is developed and exercised, and *emotional sensibility* is awakened and

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manifested; and thus, in the progress of mental development, to the sensational the perceptive phenomena are superadded; these are *ideation* and *volition*, with their associates *memory* and *emotional sensibility*. The genesis of the *will* and of the *memory* is in the perceptive consciousness; and it is, through the perceptive consciousness, that the animal propensities and affections, and the emotional, moral, and religious impressions and feelings are evolved and brought into play. For the perceptive consciousness is not limited in the sphere of its action to the mere ideation of external existences, their sensible qualities and physical attributes. It has a far more extended range, for excepting the sensational intuitions, all our immediate or intuitive knowledge of whatever kind, appertaining to man, as a social, moral, and religious being, has its origin or source in perceptive experience. Long before he has attained even to the utterance of articulate speech, and as soon as the perceptive consciousness begins to dawn, and the power of recognition is awakened, he is able *intuitively* to interpret the tones, gestures, and expressions of emotion, and becomes sympathetically effected by them. Before all teaching, he has an intuitive æsthetic sense of the true, the beautiful, and the good; of sublimity in nature, and of harmony in sound. Moral intuitions of right and wrong, and emotional of *awe*, *veneration* and *reverence*. Thus, an intuitive apprehension of *right* and *wrong* is attached to certain actions, and evidently *precedes* in his mind any distinct comprehension of the language, by which moral truths are conveyed. The flush upon the cheek, and the early sense of shame, come before there has been any traces of thought, as the consequences of misconduct or crime. In the expressive language of Lord Bacon—"The light of nature not only shines upon the human mind, through the medium of the *rational faculty*, but by an *internal instinct*, according to the law of conscience, which is a sparkle of the purity of man's first estate." And so again with the moral are closely connected the religious intuitions of his soul. These are developed more or less distinctly amongst the earliest of human sentiments, in the form of *awe*, *veneration*, and *reverence*, inspired by objects of sublimity, grandeur, vastness, and mystery. In process of time, other elements, first the intellectual, then the moral, are joined to our primary intuitions, until at length man reaches the elevation of an intelligent, voluntary, and cheerful dependence upon an Infinite and all-perfect Being."

In man's moral and religious attributes the inferior animals do not participate, and this constitutes an immutable distinction between him and them. In regard, however, to sensa-

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tional and perceptive experience—to the phenomena of the sensational and perceptive consciousness, they both stand on the same platform; for the mental process is alike *intuitive* in *all*, and the difference is one of *degree*, and not of *kind*. In some respects, indeed, they far surpass him, for he has neither the far-seeing eye of the eagle, nor the scent and smell of the hound. The true difference between man and the lower animals rests specifically and fundamentally on the greater number and higher nature of his perceptive and intellectual faculties, and on his moral and religious attributes. The dog not only knows his own master, and remembers scenes and actions where they have been associated together, but, from habitual companionship, acquires an intuitive comprehension of his master's emotional nature, which enables him at once and without hesitation to recognise its manifestations, and causes him to be sympathetically affected by them. He may be said to have well nigh all the rudiments of our perceptive knowledge — ideation, emotion, memory, and volition, but he holds them in an instinctive form. He recognises his master by certain characteristics, but disguise them and you baulk his instinct. He is deficient in *reflective*, as opposed to *intuitive* or *immediate* knowledge.

It is, however, through the phenomena of the intellectual consciousness, retrospection, and the operations of thought, ratiocination, and reflection, that man is raised so immeasureably above the brute creation, and attains to his dominant mental development in the highest reason, and the freest will. The human mind rising above sensation, and above perception, soars into the region of representative knowledge, and grasps through the intellectual and reflecting faculties, abstract ideas, and necessary and universal truths; finding articulate utterance and expression for them in the noble faculty of speech in language.

If such, then, be the leading phenomena of the mental states, it remains to be inquired whether they are a common inheritance, and manifested by the whole family of man.

But before doing this, there is another attribute of humanity —the exclusive prerogative of *man*, yet *common to all the races of man—the faculty of articulate speech*, which is far too important to be overlooked. It is the crowning gift of his beneficent Creator, and as a distinguishing and characteristic attribute of humanity, it not only now, but has always existed among all the nations of the earth. It is, indeed, as natural for man, constituted as he is, and endowed with the faculty of speech, when vividly affected, to give expression and to find utterance in articulate sounds, for his feelings, emotions, ideas,

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and thoughts, as it is for him voluntarily to use his locomotive powers in progression. To the natural language of inarticulate sounds, gestures, and actions, he at first added the conventional language of signs, and afterwards alphabetical writings, until, in the fulness of time, his invention of the art of printing consummated the benefits derived from the noble prerogative of speech.

As the instrument of thought and reasoning, the value and importance of language is paramount. We reproduce in speech the mutual relation of our thoughts to objects, and the order and relation of our thoughts themselves. Words are thus the pabulum of thought. They are, in fact, the final expression of that mental process, as well as the depository of its final results, by which knowledge becomes definite, *exact*, and *communicable*, and through which the human mind, elevated above *sensation* and above *perception*, soars into the region of representative knowledge, and rising to its highest phase of development, gives to reason its all but infinite range, and all but omnipotent force. Philological researches into the origin and structure of languages have a direct bearing upon the great question at issue. They furnish a powerful argument in support of the identity and unity of the human species, by establishing, among other points, that of the genealogical relations of tribes, long since dispersed, from their original centres, and associated at present by strongly-marked physical and psychical differences. Had I the time I would still have to regret my utter inability to follow up this subject; but the philological researches into the origin of languages—their analysis, composition, and classification, which originated in the speculations and discoveries of Leibnitz, have been successfully pursued by William Von Humboldt, Bunsen and others abroad, and by Prichard and Latham among ourselves. To our honorary associate, the late Baron Bunsen, we are especially and greatly indebted; and most sincerely do I wish that I could rouse into activity the mental energy of some of the fellows of this society, who from their philological attainments are so eminently qualified to discuss this subject, and to place before us the bearings of the philological evidence on the great problem we are now considering. It must be conceded, that it is to philological inquiry we must look for the chief evidence in determining the question of the radiation of the human family from a single centre, or from several centres.

We may now revert to the inquiry, whether the psychical characters or phenomena of the mental states, which I have dwelt upon, are common to all the races of man. Not only to the European as the most civilized, but also to the bushman,

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the negro, and the Australian savage — the most degraded types of the genus *homo*—and whom it has been a fashion with some to represent as little better than improved apes, and as having no sufficient claims to the brotherhood of humanity.

Truly the contrast when "*we look on this picture and then on that*" is striking and startling. And vividly has this contrast been depicted, and cogently has it been reasoned upon, by Dr. Prichard. "Let us imagine for a moment," says he, "a stranger from another planet to visit our globe, and to contemplate and compare the manners of its inhabitants; and let him first witness some brilliant spectacle in one of the highly-civilized countries of Europe — the coronation of a monarch—the installation of St. Louis on the throne of his ancestors, surrounded by an august assembly of peers and barons, and mitred abbots, anointed from the cruise of sacred oil brought by an angel to ratify the divine privilege of kings. Let the same person be carried into a hamlet in *Negroland*, in the hour when the sable race recreate themselves with dancing and barbarous music; let him then be transported to the saline plains, over which bald and tawny Mongols roam, differing but little in hue from the yellow soil of their steppes, brightened by the saffron flowers of the iris and tulip; let him be placed near the solitary den of the *bushman*, where the lean and hungry savage crouches in silence like a beast of prey, watching with fixed eyes the birds which enter his pitfall, or the insects and reptiles which chance brings within his grasp; let the traveller be carried to the midst of an Australian forest, where the squalid companions of kangaroos may be seen crawling in procession in imitation of quadrupeds. Can it be supposed that such a person would conclude the various groups of beings whom he had surveyed to be of *one* nature, *one tribe*, or the offspring of the same *original stock?* It is much more probable that he would arrive at an opposite conclusion." But he justly adds, "It is only by tracing the history of the diversified human races from ancient times, and by comparing the former with the present state, we are made aware of the great changes which time and circumstances have effected in the condition of particular nations, and are brought to admit the probability of the opinion, that being apparently so different in their manner of existence, they can be in any way allied.

"It is this inquiry that brings within our observation, in the first instance, one of the great distinctions between the nature of man and that of animals. I allude to the *uniformity* of habits in successive generations which prevails through all the tribes belonging to the lower departments of the living

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world, and *variations* which take place in human races, and their tendency to improve or to alternate periods of improvement with reverses and retrograde changes.

The Numidian Lion and the Satyr of the desert, the monarchies of Bees and the republics of African Termits, are precisely today what they were in the age of Æsop and in the kingdom of Juba; while the descendants of the tribe, who are described by Tacitus as living in squalid misery in solitary dens, amid the morasses of the Vistula, have built St. Petersburg and Moscow, and the posterity of cannibals and Phthirophagi, now feed on pillaus and wheaten bread. When we consider that the habits of men are so changed in some races whose past and present state comes within the sphere of history, we cannot presume to determine that such differences as those to which we have before adverted may not have been the result of circumstances favouring the progressive improvement of our race, and in other instances preventing it, or forcing a tribe already civilized to return to the brutality of savage life.*

After a thorough and searching investigation into the history of the different savage nations, and proving beyond controversy, that they are all *degraded castes* from recognized human races, and after illustrating the fact in the conversion of the Hottentots into Bushmen, for the change of a mild, confiding, and unenterprising race of shepherds, into fierce, suspicious, and vindictive savages, who issue from the fastnesses of their rocky deserts only to plunder and destroy, as has been witnessed even within the present generation, as the result of the encroachments of European colonization on the one hand, and of the Kafirs on the other, Dr. Prichard thus concludes:—"We contemplate among all the diversified tribes who are endowed with reason and speech the same internal feelings, appetencies, aversions, the same inward convictions, the same sentiments of subjection to invisible powers, and more or less fully developed, of accountableness or responsibility to unseen avengers of wrong, and agents of retributive justice, from whose tribunal men cannot even escape by death. We everywhere find the same susceptibility, though not always in the same degree of forwardness or ripeness of improvement, of admitting the cultivation of these *universal endowments*, of opening the eyes of the mind to the more clear and luminous views which Christianity unfolds, and of becoming moulded to the institutions of religious and of civilized life; *in a word, the same inward and mental nature is to be recognised in all the*

* Dr. Prichard's Natural History of Man, p. 487-8.

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races of men. When we compare this fact with the observations, fully established, as to the specific instincts and separate psychical endowments of all the distinct tribes of sentient beings in the Universe, we are entitled to draw confidently the conclusion, that all human races are of one *species* and *one family.*" In these sentiments and in this conclusion I think we must all cordially agree with Dr. Prichard; for, as assuredly as God made of one blood all the nations of the earth, so has he endowed them all with the same animal, intellectual, moral, and religious nature, and thus has he bound them together—in accordance with the high behest, that they should increase and multiply, and replenish the earth, *in one common bond of universal brotherhood.* But, again I would ask, are we not, from a strictly psychological view of the subject necessarily led to the same conclusion. It is never to be forgotten, that man is born into the world, not a mere blank recipient of impressions, and that the human mind comprehends *implicitly* from its earliest existence *every thing* which its interior nature is calculated afterwards to develope. For the germs (so to speak) or essential elements of all his mental activities, his sensational, emotional, perceptive, and intellectual as constituent endowments, are present *from the first.* They exist implicitly, *ab initio,* in every *mens sana,* and in due order and succession, they are each severally evolved *explicitly* as the successive phases of consciousness become developed.

To my friend, the late Mr. George Combe, belongs the honour of having first clearly demonstrated that the harmony which exists between the constitution of nature and the mental constitution of man is an all pervading principle of Creation, and a perfect and beautifully symmetrical system—thus indisputably establishing the fact, that the world throughout its constitution is framed in admirable adaptation to the faculties of man, as an intelligent, a moral, and a religious being.

But by no teaching, by no training or culture can we create a new mental faculty, any more than we can invent a new law of nature, or give a new organ of sense; and thus while on the one hand, where the germs or essential elements of an intellectual, moral, or religious nature are wanting and do not exist implicitly, *ab initio,* whatever may be the race to which the individual belongs, whether Caucasian, Mongolian, or Ethiopian, it is hopeless to expect that such a nature can be educed and evolved, so on the other hand, and as the tree is known by its fruits, wherever we meet with unmistakable evidence of the workings of an intelligent nature, and with proofs of the existence of moral and religious intuitions manifesting themselves in the sympathies and susceptibilities

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of affection, and in an internal consciousness of accountability, more or less obscurely developed in the feelings of self-condemnation for guilt, and the desire of expiation, we at once recognize the germs or essential mental endowments, however obscurely they may be developed, of our *common* humanity or brotherhood. And to what race can we point as destitute of the instinctive, sensational, perceptive, and intellectual intuitions of the mind. The Hottentots, as a branch of the Mongolian race, and from whom the *Bushmen* are a degraded caste, may not range high in the scale of civilization and refinement. But let me remind you of what Holbein, the Dutch voyager, has said of them:—their besetting sin was indolence,—dirty and slothful in their habits, they seemed to hate the trouble of thought,—but they were not deficient in intellect. He knew many who understood Dutch, French, and Portuguese to a degree of perfection;—one particularly, who learned English and Portuguese in a very short time, and who understood and spoke them with surprising propriety and readiness. They had a firm belief in *supreme powers*, both of good and evil, and religious rites to conciliate them. They held the soul to be *immortal*. They opposed the introduction of christianity at first; but eventually lent a more ready and willing ear to its preachings, than any other uncivilized nation had done, and speedily improved, through its reception, not only in moral character and conduct, but also in outward circumstances and prosperity. So again of the negro race, can we not point to distinguished characters, both in literature and science amongst them? And as to the general character of their mental endowments, Dr. Carpenter has well observed—"It is not a little interesting to remark, that there are elements in their character, which have been deemed by competent judges, capable of working a considerable improvement in even Anglo-Saxon civilization; for many intelligent thinkers have come to the conclusion, that the boasted superiority of the latter, is after all, more *intellectual* than *moral*, and that in purity and disinterestedness of the affections, in child-like simplicity and gentleness of demeanour; in fact, in all the milder graces of the Christian temper, we have much to learn from the despised *negro*. And what were the aspirations, or rather, reasonable hopes, of the philanthropic Channing, after much observation on the race. "I would expect of them, says he, if civilized, less energy, less courage, less intellectual originality than in ours; but more amiableness, tranquillity, gentleness and content; they might not rise to an equality in outward circumstances, but they would probably be a much happier race."

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I need not further enlarge upon this point—but with the recognition of the *right* of the degraded bushman and the negro to our common humanity assuredly comes the *claim* of the duties of brotherhood towards them, and they incur a grave responsibility, who would enslave and hold in bondage their fellow men, "as *domestic cattle* or *wild fowl.*" Before that all important *unity* of the human species which has its firm and solid basis in the participation of every race, in the same intellectual, moral and religious nature, and in the community of the same social and moral rights, alike the privilege of all, the unity from the consanguinity of a common descent, sinks into comparative insignificance. But to conclude —Admitting that the unity of the species by physiological and psychological evidence has been established, the "*quæstio vexata*" still remains: Have there been more creations than one of the same genus, more Adams and Eves than one single pair?

That distinguished naturalist, Professor Agassiz, contends, that it is impossible to account for the geographical distribution and varieties of conformation of many existing species of animals, and he includes man in the number, without having recourse to the idea, that instead of the individuals of a species having descended from a *single parentage*, or pair of '*protoplasts*,' they are the offspring of several distinct pairs of '*protoplasts*' first introduced in different localities, all presenting the same essential nature, modified in accordance with the special conditions in which each was destined to exist. But to this hypothesis of the radiation of species from several distinct centres, the late professor Edward Forbes was strongly and decidedly opposed. Maintaining as he did, that the peculiarities in the geographical distribution of existing species, is quite reconcilable with the idea of *migration* from *single* centres, and that generally speaking they necessarily lead to this idea; whilst, on the other hand, in those instances in which detached or outlying spots occur, remote from the principal area of distribution, and from each other, he considers that these represent the original extent of range, which has been subsequently interrupted by geological changes, that have been fatal to the existence of the species, over the intermediate connecting area; and he affirms, that in many cases, these peculiarities may be thus explained, by known geological changes since the introduction of the species in question. It is greatly to be regretted, that he did not live to give his matured views on the subject to the world in a more complete form than by oral discourses.

With Prichard, Latham, and Forbes, my own mind at present

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rests in the conviction so well expressed by Dr. Carpenter, that the supposition of a number of distinct '*protoplasts*,' one for each principal region of the globe, is not required to account for the extension of the human family over its area, and it does not afford any assistance in accounting for the phenomena of their existing distribution; since each principal geographical area contains races of very diversified physical characters, the affinity of whose languages makes it next to certain that they must have had a common descent."*

XVI.—*On the Pagan (non-Mahometan) Populations of the Indian Archipelago, with special reference to the colour of their skin, the texture of their hair, and the import of the term Harafura.* By R. G. Latham, M.D., F.R.S., Hon. F.E.S.

The object of the present paper is to illustrate some obscure statements respecting certain occupants of the Indian Archipelago, concerning which more than one over-hasty notice, adopted from the older and more ill-informed authorities, has been allowed to stand in works of current repute. These are to the effect that there are to be found, in the Indian Archipelago, in a fragmentary state, and sporadically distributed, several populations of which the skin is so dark, and the hair so frizzly, as to justify us in calling them Negro, or, at least, Negritos.

That tribes with characteristics of this kind are numerous when we get to the east of the Archipelago, is true; for it is true that both New Guinea and Australia, along with many other islands of less importance, are the occupancies of a black population which contrasts unfavourably with the Malays, Javanese, and Bugis of the islands to the west. It is also true that in the way of colour, hair, or both, these populations have suggested a comparison with the blacks of Africa.

From New Guinea, then, eastward, all is plain and clear; for, with New Guinea begins the land of the Papua, so called by the Malays from the frizzly texture of their hair. From New Guinea eastwards darker skins, a lower civilization, and pagan creeds prevail.

But what is the case with the Indian Archipelago itself?

To the north and north-west of Sumatra, either on the con-

* Dr. Carpenter, On the Varieties of Mankind, in Dr. Todd's Cyclopædia of Anatomy and Physiology, vol. iv, p. 1364.

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tinent or on islands, as well as to the north of the Moluccas, these same dark skins and frizzly heads may or may not occur. It has been specially stated that the Andaman Islands, the interior of the Malayan Peninsula, and the Philippine Archipelago supply instances. How far these statements are accurate, or what, if accurate, they imply, is not part of the present, though it may be of some future, investigation. The present paper ascertains how far the characteristics in question are to be found between the Malayan Peninsula and New Guinea, in the islands of the Indian Archipelago; the Banda Sea, in Sumatra, Java, Florez, Timor, in the Moluccas, in Celebes, and in Borneo, in the occupancies of those populations, whose skin is brown rather than black, and whose hair is straight rather than frizzly. Do any tribes deserving the name Negro or Negrito occur before (after leaving the Malayan Peninsula), we reach New Guinea?

Whatever may be the actual answer to this question it is clear that its bearings are important. Such a phenomenon as a series of tribes with Papuan characters, extending through either the Moluccas or the chain which, beginning with Timor ends in Sumatra, might legitimately give rise to more than one hypothesis of no inconsiderable importance. It might, for instance, suggest an original continuity of the negrohood from Siam to Australia—a fact of which we could scarcely admit the truth without at once recognising its great interest.

To show that the criticism that deals with this question is by no means wasted on a shadow, I may state, as a preliminary, that in nine-tenths of the works upon the ethnology of the Indian Archipelago this existence of a black population concurrent with a brown one is, in some degree or other, admitted; so that, if it be an error, it is likely to be a mischievous one.

That it pervades different works in different degrees is only natural. The Dutch writers are the freest from it; the Dutch writers, as a body, being the best informed upon the subject.

Of the Germans we can scarcely say so much. So influential a work as the Mithridates, of which the first three parts appeared as long ago as 1806, and of which the supplement by Vater was added in 1807, gives us the following statements:—

"1. In Bali there are blacks with crisp (*kraus*) hair, belonging to the negro-like aborigines (*neger-artige urvolk*), who must not be confused with the Indians (*Dschentuhs*).

"2. In Borneo the inhabitants are negro-like blacks with crisp hair, who occupy the interior of the island, and are a branch of the aborigines. They are called Biajus, Maruts, Idan, and Dyaks. Contrasted with these stand the lighter-coloured men of Banjermasen.

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"3. In Celebes, in contrast with the lighter Bugis of Boni and Makassar, are the negro-like Biajus.

"4, 5, 6, etc. In the Moluccas, with the exception of Ternate and Amboyna, the same population presents itself under the name Harafura or Alfura, a population of crisp-haired blacks (*krausharige schwarzen*).

"6. That Timor contains blacks in the interior is especially stated in Vater's supplement, Peron being the authority."

The extent to which this doctrine is shared by our own ethnologists is not very easily ascertained. Both Dr. Prichard and Mr. Craufurd, when we come to their details, say little about the blacks of the area under notice. About the blacks of certain districts beyond it they doubtless say much, *i. e.* about the blacks of the Andaman and Philippine islands, as well about the blacks of the Malayan Peninsula, they give us valuable information; nothing, however, concerning the blacks of Borneo, Sumatra, or the Moluccas.

It is only, however, in their details that this abstinence appears; and it is not total in them. Mr. Craufurd specially states that there are black tribes in Timor. He also writes thus—"independent of men of brown or copper complexion and lank hair, who are the principal inhabitants of the Malayan Archipelago, the Philippines, and the islands of the Pacific, there is another race or races, widely differing from them, yet inhabiting the same countries. These, from their resemblance to the Africans, have been called negroes. We first encounter a negro people to the west, at the Andaman islands. We next find a negro population in the northern portion of the Malayan Peninsula. The great islands of Sumatra, Java, Borneo, and Celebes are not known to contain any negro race, nor is there any record or tradition of there ever having done so.

It should, however, be added, that in the Malay dictionary far less prominence is given to these so called Blacks than was given in the author's earlier work, the Indian Archipelago. In his very latest production, his Dictionary of the Indian Islands, still less is said about them. They are limited to the parts east of Celebes and Sumbawa: and even here the Alfurus of the Moluccas are tenderly dealt with in the matter of complexion. At the same time the term Negro-Malayan is to be found in its place, a term which conveys a recognition of the conformation under notice.

The nearest approach to what the present writer believes to be the true doctrine, viz. the nearest approach towards utterly ignoring these so-called blacks, is to be found in the writings of Messrs. Windsor Earle, and Logan, the authors who, of all

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others, combine a considerable amount of personal knowledge with a familiar acquaintance with the writings of the Dutch authorities.

To proceed; whatever hesitation I may feel in criticising such ethnologists as Dr. Prichard and Mr. Craufurd, it vanishes as the next writer comes under notice. This is one of whom I may speak with the very fullest freedom, being myself. In a short appendix to Mr. Jukes' Voyage of the Fly I find myself writing thus,—"With the exception of Java all the larger and many of the smaller Malay islands, as well as the Peninsula of Malacca are described as containing, in different proportions, a population which departs from the Malay type, which approaches that of the negro, which possesses a lower civilization, which generally inhabits the more inaccessible parts of the respective countries, and which wears the appearance of being aboriginal to the true Malay population. These tribes may be called the blacks of the Malay area." Assuredly there is something suspiciously like a theory here. Assuredly there is the suggestion that the so-called blacks of the Malay area are not only concurrent with the browns, but that their area was once continuous. How much theoretical considerations may have had to do with the statements of Prichard and Craufurd I cannot of course say. I can only say that they had a good deal to do with my own. They certainly prevented me from criticizing the details of the Mithridates, which I over-hastily and at once adopted.

Soon after writing the above, I had the satisfaction of seeing in a work, published at Marburg, and entitled "Ethnognosie und Ethnologie", an expansion of this doctrine. The author, who (it is to be hoped) knows more about ethnology than he does about ethnologists, writes that an English missionary, Latham by name, finds the blacks of the Malay in *all* the islands of the Indian Archipelago; this being somewhat more than my mission has taught me. Be this, however, as it may, the author speaks of the Papuas of Borneo, Celebes, Timor, Amboyna, and the Sunda and Banda islands.

I may now remark that, along with the dark skin and the frizzly hair, a certain amount of mental inferiority has been connected; at any rate the black populations have generally been described as unlettered pagans. This combination has engendered over-hasty speculations. One tribe stated to be black has been inferred to be rude, whilst another, for which we had evidence to its rudeness only, has been, on the strength of its barbarism, presumed to be black. Meanwhile the dark skins may, in reality, belong to populations where the civilization is considerable, whilst certain cannibal or head-hunting

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savages may be remarkable for the fairness of their complexions. It *is* a fact that some tribes are darker, a fact that some are wilder than others. That the darkness, however, implies the barbarism is no fact at all; neither is it a fact that the barbarism is connected with the darkness. As little is it a fact that a dark complexion, even with frizzly hair to boot, makes a negro.

The term Harafura illustrates this. It applies to such *indigenæ* of the Moluccas as retain their original paganism, along with its corresponding absence of civilization, as opposed to the Christians and Mahometans. The Portuguese originated, the Dutch adopted and retain, it as Alfoer. Now, what does it become in the hand of the systematic ethnologist? Leyden makes the Idan and Marut of Borneo Harafuras, stating that they are lighter in colour than the Mahometan races. He then gives examples of the rudeness of their manners, and continues to assert that they are found in all the Moluccas, in Celebes, and in the Philippines. The rude tribes, however, of the Philippines are negrito. The passage from which this is taken is quoted by Prichard, who objects to it, and expresses his belief that the Idans are not of the "Alforian race." Mark the express term. It shows that we have got a sufficient amount of generalization to engender a definite name. By Dr. Prichard this is applied to the Australians, the reason being, apparently, this:—Papua means curly, frizzly, or mop-headed. It is a Malay word (as aforesaid) and applies to certain populations of New Guinea, whose hair corresponds with the epithet. It is stated, however, by the French ethnologists Quoy, Gaimard, and Lesson (no matter whether rightly or wrongly) that certain tribes of the interior were straight-haired. Let these be separated from the Papuas, and called Harafuras, as the Papuas, Moluccans, or Dutch may very likely have called them. Let the Australians be also (comparatively speaking) straight-haired, and the name suits *them*.

Upon this principle Dr. Prichard's Harafuras are to be found in Australia. His editor, Mr. Norris, though he finds the name objectionable, with laudable caution leaves it as he finds it, solely and wholly on the ground of not disturbing the suggested nomenclature of a great authority. Doing this he may, very probably, be followed in Great Britain. But will the Dutch investigators accept the term? Certainly not. To them it is one of the most inconvenient that could be devised, inasmuch as it has with them a special meaning. With them it simply means those populations of the Moluccas which have not been converted to Mahometanism, *i. e.* the original pagans of the Archipelago.

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What are the wild tribes, and what the dark ones? What is the import of their rudeness, and what the import of their darkness? In the opinion of those writers who talk about the negroes of the Indian Archipelago, who suggest ideas of Africa, and who indulge in the use of the word *race*, they mean a great deal. In the opinion of the present writer they amount to very little.

Beginning with Sumatra, we find several populations which, in the Moluccas, would be called Harafuras, or Alfurus—populations of which the creed and civilization are other than Mahometan. The term Harafura, however, is not current in that island. Neither are the statements that there are any negritos in even the wildest parts. There is something, however, akin to it, viz., statements that some of the very rudest of the occupants of the more impracticable districts are as much monkeys as men. In Marsden I find the names Orang Cubu and Orang Gugu associated with the idea of extreme barbarism—of course without any details. Neither can I supply any such details at the present moment. I can only say that two other populations, which, until they were described, bore the same character for inferiority of physical conformation as the Gugu and the Cubu, are now known to differ but little from the rest of the Sumatrans. These are the Lubu and Ulu tribes, described by Willer and Hennij.

As no one, however, to the knowledge of the present writer, has laid any negro or negrito occupancies on the soil of Sumatra, it is unnecessary to go into further detail.

The same applies to the islands, one and all, that lie off Sumatra, viz. Enganho Island, the Poggi Isles, Nias, Baniak, and the Mantawi group. They have all had their inhabitants described in detail, and in none of them is any one called either Negro or Negrito.

Java. No one having committed himself to the doctrine that there are negritoes in Java, I proceed at once to

Bali and Lornbok.—In the latter of these islands there are a few mountaineers, ruder and less Mahometan than the rest of the population—perhaps actually pagan. In the Moluccas they would be called Harafuras. They have been described; but the description of them gives no approximation to the negro. I have met with the statement, that the Balinese in general, are darker than the Javanese. This, however, is quite a different thing from the "negro-like aborigines" of the Mithridates.

Sumbawa.—Next comes the large island of Sumbawa—an island of which the details are but little known, and one of which I have found no satisfactory description. I cannot then,

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say that there is no such a thing *in rerum naturâ* as a Sumbawan black. I can only say, that I know of no one who has asserted its existence.

Then come the three small islands of Comodo, Gunung Api, and Gabbanta. What has been said about Sumbawa applies to these.

Flores.—A "negro-race," writes Mr. Craufurd, "occurs in the island of Flores; but no account of it has been rendered." If so, what is the authority? It is an easy matter to say, that *where there is smoke there is fire,* and that the statement itself, (though vague and general) as to the simple existence of a black population somewhere or other, is a presumption in favour of it. It is easy to say this; and equally easy is the opposite adage *de non apparentibus et non existentibus eadem habenda est ratio.*

I have found, however, no reliable details for Flores; and consequently, am unable to deny the existence of a population like the one under notice. Analogy, however, is decidedly against it.

Solor.—Solor is but little known and imperfectly described. It is a small island, and (as such) unlikely to contain two physiognomies. If so, the occupants of the interior are like those of the coast. Of these, the individuals seen by S. Müller, at Koepang, were brown, with black *slink* hair, broad noses, wide mouths, and coarse ill-favoured features. Of

Adenara and Lomlen, I know no details. They are probably in the same category with Solor. In

Pantar—the "inhabitants are described as having dark brown complexions, and frizzled hair." They are, therefore, of the race which I have ventured to call Negro Malayan. —*Craufurd in v. Pantan.*

Ombay, has had full justice done to its rudeness. In more than one of the illustrated works upon Ethnology—even in so valuable one as Dr. Prichard's *Natural History of Man,* is a fine *farouche* looking native, with his hair tied up in a knot at the top of his head, and an aquiline nose. He is more like a New Zealander than a negro; so much so that Dr. Prichard says, *totidem verbis,* that "the Ombay Islanders are a tribe of this" (the New Zealand) "race." The portrait is by Arago the artist, in Freycinet's Voyage, and it is evidently more artistic than anatomical. The curve of the nose is probably wholly pictorial—since the *text* gives the Ombayans *flattened* noses and thick lips.

The real description of them is probably that of the Solorese.

Savu and Rotti.—Mr. Craufurd writes, that the natives of

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Savu and Rotti are said to differ materially from each other. In Savu the physiogomy is that of Timor. In Rotti it is that of the western portions of the Archipelago. In Savu, "they are short, dark complexioned, and have frizzled hair." Solomon Muller, however, specially states, that the two islands agree in the physical character of their occupants—whose hair is long and *slink*. Of

Sandalwood Island I can give no details.

Timor.—The fullest account of Timor is that of Solomon Muller, who, for the western half at least, speaks from personal knowledge, from fair opportunities of obtaining information, and in a critical spirit. He opens his chapter on the ethnology of the island by remarking, that one of the inaccuracies concerning the island which has been adopted from the writings of his predecessors, is the statement, that there is to be found in the interior a population like the Papuas, or, as they are called, the Austral Negroes; children of the soil, and children of nature; who, having been driven from the circumference of the island by the Malays, betook themselves to the bush, where they are to be found at the present time. That evidence in favour of any theory of the kind exists he especially denies. Some of the inhabitants may be a little lighter, some a little darker than the rest; upon the whole, however, their skin is like that of the Dyaks, the Javanese, and the Alfuras, of a yellowish brown hue. Their hair, too, is straight.

The Serwatty Islands.—In Moa it is stated that the inhabitants are somewhat darker than those of Wetter, Kissi, and the other islands. Their hair is coarse and bushy, their complexion dark, their sclerotica muddy. In Wetter, Kissi, etc., the physiognomy is that of Timor; so is that of

Timorlant and the islands of the *Tenimber* group; leading to the Key and Arru Isles, where we approach New Guinea.

I now take another line, and having gone back to the parts immediately to the east of the Malayan Peninsula, consider the claims of Borneo, Celebes, and the Moluccas to be occupancies of a Negro Malayan population. Of the first two, little need be said. The statements of the Mithridates, noticed at the beginning of the paper, find no adherents now; neither are they likely to do so. By this I mean, that there is no chance of future investigators discovering any Negrito localities. That the island has been but imperfectly explored is true, but it is also true that those particular localities on which the Negritos of the Mithridates are placed *have* been visited; the result being that, if any thing, their occupants are *lighter* than the ordinary populations.

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The same applies to Celebes.

Then come the Southern Moluccas, *i.e.*, the larger islands of Buru and Ceram, and the smaller ones of Amboyna, Banda, etc.—the true land of the Harafuras, or Alfurus. Here, in the smaller islands, every village and every house is registered; and, perhaps every individual is known. And what is an Alfuru? No black at all; nothing like a black; he is simply (as aforesaid) a native of Banda, or Amboyna, etc., who has not been converted to Mahometanism. What applies to the smaller islands applies to the larger as well—Buru and Ceram.

Of Mangola and Taliabo I find no authentic account.

The population of Keffing, the Ceram Laut group, and the Matabellas, is especially stated to be that of the coast of the Eastern part of Ceram; the population of the Eastern part of the coast being the same in physical character as the remainder.

Now comes under notice the most northern half of the Moluccas, containing Ternate, Tidor, Batchian, Mortay, and the large island of what the maps call Gilolo, but which is more correctly, and perhaps more conveniently, named Halmahera, or Almahera. Here the details are comparatively obscure; the authority of the Dutch being replaced by that of the Sultans of Tidore and Ternati. These two islands are small, and (I believe) wholly Mahometan. Mortay and Batchean are in the same category with Halmahera. Of Halmahera we know little. Still there is in Willer's elaborate work upon *Buru* a long chapter upon its northern half, the district which is subject to Ternati; and in this chapter the Alfuras have a prominent place; they constitute the bulk of the population; a population spread over seven *Dzheko* or provinces, each under the head of a governor commissioned by the Sultan of Ternati. Of these dignitaries one is an Alfuru, the rest Mahometans. Throughout the whole of Willer's valuable notice no single expression can be found which leads us to the belief that the difference between an Alfur and a non-Alfur is anything either more or less than difference between a Pagan and a Mahometan.

Such are the details. What do they prove? When an island appears in a map under certain degrees of latitude and longitude, we believe in its existence, as long as no doubts are raised concerning. We go on the principle of "where there is smoke there is fire," and give our authorities credit for being right until they can be shewn to be wrong. But if an explorer come home (the illustration is from Niebuhr) and having visited the spot where the isles are supposed to be, has sailed over the area to which they are referred and has found

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no land at all, but only water, water, water everywhere—water in place of land, the non-existence of the islands is considered to be proved.

Now it cannot be said that each and all of the Negrito areas has been disposed of in the satisfactory way that our imaginary islands have been abolished. It can only be said, that a close approximation to their abolition has been effected. Before it can be made absolute, Timor and Floris must be explored minutely; and Freycinet's and Arago's account of the Ombayans be corrected. The notion, however, that the Alfurs of the Moluccas are in any degree Negrito, or that the term Harafura, can with any ethnological propriety be connected with the adjective black, may fairly be said to have received its death-blow.

Individually, I believe that the whole doctrine of the existence of anything deserving the name of Negro or Negrito to the west of New Guinea is destined to die out—and that it will end in respect to the populations that come within the range of the present investigation with the simple fact, that the men and women of Floris and parts of Timor are darker than those of Java and Sumatra, in the way that a Portuguese is darker than a Frenchman. The so called blacks of the Andaman Islands, the Malayan Peninsula, and the Philippines, may form the subject of another paper. So may the question which has perhaps already suggested itself to some of my hearers, viz: — the *prior* existence of blacks within the area just investigated; the prior existence of them being perfectly compatible with their present non-appearance. I do not believe in it. Still, it is a view of the question which should be entertained. A whole class should not be erased from the system of Ethnology without a full consideration of all the questions connected with it.

XVII.—*Results of Ethnological Observations made during the last Ten Years in England and Wales.* By D. MACKINTOSH, F.G.S., F.E.S.

I AM very willing to admit the extreme difficulty of classifying the inhabitants of a country, such as England, where so much crossing has occurred. But the experience of the practical ethnologist is similar to that of the inductive geologist. The more he travels, the more he becomes alive to the existence of local peculiarities. It is easy to conceive that a hurried survey may leave the impression that systematic arrangement is impossible; but a series of successive residences in various

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localities will, I believe, convince the ethnologist that the interblending of races has been greatly overrated. The very fact that different dialects still linger in different parts of England, and that the uneducated inhabitants of one county are unintelligible to those of another county, is a proof that races have not become so intermixed as to defy classification. But as the *glossology* of England has already been well investigated, I shall mainly confine attention in this paper to those physical peculiarities, which if not positively unalterable, are at least much more *enduring* than language. A systematic series of observations will render it very difficult for a traveller to resist the impression that the people of one district differ from those of another in the form of the head and features, figure of body, temperament, and complexion; and a little practice will enable him to make out a predominating *type** in a particular locality or *ethnographical area.* The liability to error does not consist in tracing the existence of such a *type*, but in coupling it with an ancient historical name; in calling it Gaelic, Cymbrian, Belgic, Jutian, Frisian, Saxon, Danish, or Norse. These and other historical names will be used in this paper as a means of convenient classification, and not as dogmatically implying that the types so called are certainly descended from the races mentioned in history; and I shall feel greatly indebted to any fellow of this society who may be able to correct me on this subject.

The order I shall adopt in this paper will be geographical rather than historical; and commencing with the south-east coast of England, the first great ethnological question which presents itself is the

Distinction between Jutes, Frisians, and Saxons. The ethnologist cannot make much progress in the work of classification without perceiving the *necessity* of making a distinction between these three races—a necessity now beginning to be felt by eminent antiquarians. I have been at great pains to try to make out the *physical characteristics* of the Saxons of English history. To say that the swarms of emigrants who came into England under Saxon leaders were Saxons in the ethnological sense of the term would be about as correct as to assert that the Irish and Scotch [Erse-Scandinavian?] soldiers who fought in the Crimea under English generals were English. The same remark applies more or less to the difficulty of making out the Saxon form of head from the skulls found in so-called Saxon burial-grounds. From the results of many inquiries made of

* The word type is here used to denote a certain combination of physical and mental peculiarities.

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intelligent Germans and English ladies (for I find ladies keen practical ethnologists, with the advantage of not being theoretically prejudiced) and gentlemen who have travelled in Germany—results considered in connection with traditions and impressions prevalent in the more historically Saxon districts of England, I have been led to suppose the following as Saxon characteristics:—light brown or flaxen hair, rather broad semicircular forehead, nearly semicircular eyebrows, blue or bluish grey and prominent eyes, nearly straight nose of moderate length, rather short broad face [the term broad-faced Saxon is common on the continent] low cheek bones, excessively regular features, flat ears, head of a form between a short parallelogram and a round, figure smooth and free from projections, fingers, hands, arms and legs short, more or less tendency to obesity, especially in the epigastric region, in extreme cases giving rise to what is provincially called a corporation, moderate stature. According to the phrenological system (the convenience of which as a means of minutely describing the form of the head is acknowledged in the *Brit. Ass. Manual of Ethnological Inquiry*), moderate or rather small perceptive organs, small eventuality and individuality, large comparison, moderate casuality, small wit, large benevolence, small veneration and hope, large firmness and conscientiousness, small secretiveness, small self-esteem and concentration, small adhesiveness. The *mental peculiarities*, which I have found to accompany the physical above stated, and which agree in the main with those historically assigned to the Saxon, and believed to characterize the Saxon in Germany and England, are the following:—slowness of perception (if asked to hold up the right hand will probably hold up the left till he has time to consider which is the right and which the left) more comprehensive than analytical, want of sanguine anticipation, union of self-reliance with meekness and absence of ambition, simple hearted and truthful, more general love than particular attachment, adapted to occupations in general rather than to one in particular, a disposition for pursuits admitting of variety; if he emigrates he can soon forget old associations and adapt himself to new circumstances.

The Saxon according to the foregoing characteristics is not a predominating inhabitant of Kent. He is found in the interior of the Isle of Thanet (on the coast dark complexions are most prevalent) and in the neighbourhood of Sandwich. The Saxon sword and battle axe found by the late Mr. Rolfe in Ozengel churchyard, I should regard as real Saxon, and not Jutian or Frisian.

On the south coast of Kent a large proportion of the inhabi-

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tants probably resemble those on the opposite shore of the English channel. On the north coast and scattered through the interior a type to which I shall venture to apply the term Frisian is very common.

This face is very much English, certainly as much so as the Saxon face; and linguistic investigations would seem to point to the conclusion that England has been largely colonized from Friesland.

The Frisian type is characterized by a very fair complexion, oval countenance, rather prominent features, narrow head, long neck, narrow shoulders and chest, the broadest part of the frame being where the legs join the body, rather small perceptive and reflective faculties, little reverence and great firmness, giving rise to self-complacency and independence of authority.

In the interior of Kent, especially about Tonbridge, the predominating type is distinctly marked, and I think may be safely called Jutian. It is the same as that prevailing in the eastern part of the Isle of Wight; and Mr. Roach Smith has lately found that the sepulchral remains of some parts of Kent and the Isle of Wight are identical. I believe this eminent antiquarian is now convinced of the necessity for making a distinction between Jute and Saxon.

The Jutian characteristics, which are to be met with not only in Kent, but in many parts along the east coast of England and Scotland, may be stated as follows:—very convex profile, narrow face, head narrow, rather elongated, and very much rounded off at the sides, very long neck, narrow shoulders and chest, springing gait, frequently tall, especially in the Isle of Wight, large perceptive and rather small reflective faculties, adaptation to the practical affairs of life accompanying deficient imagination. In reference to the narrow shoulders of the Jute and Frisian I may direct attention to the statement made by Polwhele in his *History of Cornwall*, to the effect that one thousand Cornishmen, in course of being drilled at Chatham, about the time of the French revolution, took up considerably more ground than the same number of Kent men; and I may likewise mention that the late venerable Archdeacon Williams informed me that he was once present in a regiment in Cardiganshire when it was observed that 1,000 Welshmen required as much ground as 1,200 midland county men.

Before leaving Kent I may remark that the termination *ing* is the most common in the central districts, and that it is likewise the most prevalent termination of the names of places in Jutland.

In Sussex the majority of the inhabitants would appear to belong to two races, the Saxon as before described, and a race

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with harder and more angular features, to which perhaps the term Belgic may be applied. The inhabitants belonging to the last mentioned race are generally extreme Calvinists in religion, many of them being followers of Mr. Huntington, S. S. (sinner saved) of Tenterden; and throughout Sussex there is a greater or less tendency to fatalism, which is frequently found implied in epitaphs. The following epitaph, which may be read in Old Brighton churchyard, is similar to many occurring in different parts of the county:—

"His fate was hard, 'twas God's decree
He should be drownded in the sea."

The parts of Sussex and the neighbourhood where the Saxon type may be found in its greatest purity are, an area extending from East Grinstead to Hastings, of considerable breadth, and embracing the south-western portion of the Weald of Kent; and the flat district situated between Chichester and the sea. So far as the latter district is concerned, the Saxon of modern ethnology may be regarded as identical with the Saxon of ancient history. The principal exceptions to the prevalence of the Saxon type in the above localities are to be found in the towns where manufactures of various kinds were introduced by Flemings in the 16th and 17th centuries.

In Portsmouth and the neighbourhood it is very difficult to classify the inhabitants. Between Southampton and Salisbury the Saxon type is very common, and the Saxon *mead* is still a common beverage. In Salisbury, on a market day, many Saxons may be seen. In the middle and north of Hampshire the people in general belong to a dark complexioned race very different from any to be met with in other parts of England. I have heard the opinion expressed that they are Wendes or a Belgic tribe of Wendish extraction. But whether this opinion has arisen from the old name of Winchester, Venta Belgarum, or has had a better foundation, I shall not pretend to say. It is to be regretted that the bones in the mortuary chests of Winchester Cathedral should have been so displaced and altered from their original relative juxtaposition as to render them of little service to ethnology. But where the interests of physical science have suffered, a moral lesson has been taught; for the Dane and the Saxon, at one time "sworn enemies," now lie in the same coffin, thus adding force to the simple lines of the Scotch paraphrase:—

"And there the peaceful ashes mix
Of those who once were foes."

In the north-west of Wiltshire and the west of Berkshire the Saxon Hock-tide sports are still kept up; and in the White Horse Valley the Saxon type is very prevalent.

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Returning towards the south coast we arrive at the New Forest, inhabited by a mixture of races which almost defy classification, the complexion in general being dark. Mr. Purkis, bookseller, Wimborne-Minster, and an innkeeper in the neighbourhood, are the only remaining lineal descendants of the charcoal burner who conveyed the body of William Rufus to Winchester.

The inhabitants of Dorsetshire, with comparatively few exceptions, may be included under Saxons and Gaels. These two races may be found side by side even in the same family, as if a law existed preventing their amalgamation. But it may here be necessary to give a detailed statement of what I think may now be safely regarded as the Gaelic peculiarities. In Connaught, Ireland, they appear in their most exaggerated form. The description of a Scotch medical gentleman who had resided among them, namely, "By painting them black you can make negroes of them," is not exactly correct, but the bulging forward of the lower part of the face, and recession of the forehead, are very much in the style of the negro profile.

Gaels. Physical characteristics:—head elongated backwards, large verberation, firmness, self-esteem, combativeness, concentrativeness, and adhesiveness, small benevolence and causality, large perceptive organs, projecting ears, oblique eyebrows, low nose, in most sub-varieties turned up at the point, great distance between the nose and mouth, projecting mouth and jaws, retreating chin, in some of the Irish sub-varieties, no chin, complexion and stature various.

Mental characteristics:—quickness of perception, want of reasoning power, tendency to reverence authority, adaptation to monotonous occupations such as reaping, at one time very lively, at another very melancholy, with a tendency to convert the events of life, from births to funerals, into scenic entertainments, the tragedy and comedy frequently following each other in quick succession, extreme attachment and sociability. The Gaelic maxims are "one and all," "union is strength," "I care for every body, yes indeed I do, and I hope every body cares for me." The state of society in a Gaelic country may be compared to an arch, if one stone falls, the whole tumbles to the ground.

The mental peculiarities above stated appear under a modified form in Dorsetshire, but the physical are strongly marked.

Dorsetshire is remarkable for its Roman burial grounds. Mr. Medhurst, of Weymouth, has collected several hundred Roman skulls, and on examining a number of these skulls I found that in most instances the chin projected very visibly forwards, similar to the representations of effigies on Roman coins furnished in Mr. Akermann's celebrated work.

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The majority of the inhabitants of the Isle of Portland exhibit distinct and uniform characteristics, consisting of tall and loosely made frame, square shoulders, hobbling gait, long face, high nose, among the women teeth frequently projecting, a strong antipathy to the "English," and a constant tendency to litigation with the inhabitants of the mainland, and with government, in religion chiefly Wesleyans, derivation probably Scandinavian, but not exactly Danish.

Saxons, Gaels, and Flemings, form the principal part of the population of Somerset and Devon. In Exeter, and some other towns in Devon, another type is very conspicuous, which for want of a better name may be called Roman, and which, if not of Roman derivation is probably Moorish, or one of the Iberian sub-varieties. At a numerously attended performance of the "Elijah" in the Subscription Rooms, Exeter, some years ago, I, in company with an eminent medical gentleman, very closely observed the physiognomies of the ladies who were present. Nearly one half presented a straight profile, good forehead, long nose, thin lips, prominent chin, and very dark complexion.

The inhabitants of Plymouth and Devonport differ very much from one another both physically and mentally, the first being apparently of Saxon, Dutch, or Flemish derivation, the latter chiefly Cornish.

In Cornwall the people are not nearly so homogeneous as is commonly supposed. The majority are Gaels, others apparently Cymbrian similar to the Welsh, the rest chiefly of Iberian or Spanish descent. The termination *o*, as in Pasco, Jago, etc., is very common in the names of persons. The Cornish differ from the Welsh in their being chiefly Armenians, that is, Wesleyans. A tendency to display, accompanying a loftiness of imagination, with a sensitiveness to praise or censure, may be reckoned among their mental characteristics. The Cornish frequently present instances of a combination of poetic and mechanical talent, and at the collegiate and other schools of the west of England Cornish boys generally beat the shire boys in mathematics.

In North Devon, particularly on the borders of Exmoor, the Gaelic type is almost as strikingly marked as in Ireland. I once heard a number of Exmoor Gaelic women converse in Barnstable market. They spoke with so much rapidity and variety of inflexion that little musical skill would have been sufficient to convert their conversation into an Irish jig.

I would now cross over into the Principality. On making an ethnological tour in South Wales several years ago, I was surprised to find a considerable diversity of types; and I have

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sometimes been led to doubt whether the remoter districts of our island are really the most favourable for ethnographical research. Is it not possible that the more open parts of England or the great military highways, may have experienced a process of sanguinary *denudation* (to use a geological phrase) by which many tribes were swept away, while the remote nooks and corners became the refuge of a heterogeneous mixture of races? But to return to South Wales, the great mass of the rural population do not differ materially from what may be seen in many parts of England, which corroborates the opinion of some ethnologists who believe that the bulk of the English peasantry are British and not Teutonic. On the coast of South Wales the people are said to resemble those of Brittany, if we except Pembroke and the Peninsula of Gower. I am not able to speak of Pembrokeshire from personal observation. In Gower the people are either Flemings or Scandinavians. Generally speaking they have ruddy complexions, with sandy hair, and differ from the Welsh in being fond of the sea. One Gower boy, I have been told, is worth twenty Welsh boys as a sailor. The Celts in general are bad sailors and good soldiers. The Celt of the Isle of Skye would rather starve than venture to catch fish. Some Teutonic tribes, more especially the Norsemen, find their most congenial home on the "wave." In Wales the people of different counties differ not only in dialect, but physically and mentally. In Caermarthenshire many of the inhabitants are tall and slender, and a considerable proportion of the young men manifest an early ambition to become preachers. In the inland district called Cynyl Gaio there is a colony of red-haired, tall, robust men, who formerly proved the terror of the neighbouring tribes. In the ironworks and mines of Glamorganshire the men who have emigrated from different counties frequently show an antipathy to one another, and sometimes fight, as if belonging to separate nations. The Cardi or Cardiganshire men are, I believe, the most unpopular in the mining districts.

Cymbrians. In the interior of South Wales the inhabitants present the various gradations of physiognomy between Gaels and what I shall venture to call *Cymbrians*, or dominant Welsh. The Gaelic peculiarities have already been stated. The Cymbrian has a broad head, large secretiveness, full forehead, large causality, sunk half-closed eyes, nose projecting at the point, broad face in the region of the cheek bones, sudden tapering off under the cheek bones, narrow chin, very broad shoulders and chest, stature rather under the middle size, dark brown hair.

In mental character he is more analytical than inductive,

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more critical than comprehensive, with a tendency to look towards the past and exercise little confidence in the future. The Cymbrian is naturally an antiquarian. He is ethnologically, or by race, an ethnologist.

The real Welsh Cymbrian is very musical; but the music characteristic of the race must be distinguished from the Gaelic melodies in $\frac{6}{8}$ time, which are very common in Wales. Cymbrian music is either in $\frac{4}{4}$ time, with a frequency of sudden stops and pathetic slurs, or in $\frac{3}{8}$ time, of which an example is furnished by the tune called *Jenny Jones*. A Welsh minister generally *intones* his discourses. The following is a customary preaching tune in North Wales. Key, G minor; D dd, dddd, CBAG, G, g a b, BA, abc, BA, AD, D. The Welsh are very fond of Handel, and "Angels ever bright and fair" may frequently be heard whistled by the same class of boys who in England would prefer "Pop goes the Weasel." The Welsh are extreme Calvinists in religion; and the relative proportion of persons who have sittings in places of worship in Wales and London may be estimated at about 6 to 1, if I rightly understand the last census.

In North Wales a large proportion of the inhabitants are tall, and are regarded by some historians as of Belgic derivation.

The people of Lancashire are not easily classified. A considerable proportion are evidently Cymbrians and Scandinavians; but the most prominent types cannot, I think, be safely coupled with any historical names, if indeed, we except the Brigantes. In Cumberland, the inhabitants may be divided into Cymbrian and Norse—the latter presenting at least two sub-varieties; first, the comparatively flat face with full forehead, and second, the prominent face with rather retreating forehead. Sandy hair, and ruddy complexions, with blue or bluish-grey eyes are very common; and the stature of both men and women is far above the average of England. Their prevailing temperament is sanguine, and a tendency to litigation may be reckoned among their mental peculiarities.

My observations in the North-western and midland districts of England have been comparatively limited; but so far as they have extended, they have seemed to corroborate the remarks of Worsaae, the Danish traveller.

I believe that Danes are not nearly so common in Northumberland as is commonly supposed, the mass of the people being apparently British. In the county of Durham, the existence of a tall and fair race, not Scandinavian, and apparently superimposed on the British population, would lead one to suppose that there is an *Anglian* type, distinct from Saxon, and probably standing midway between Saxon and Dane.

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This type, the detailed characteristics of which I am not prepared to state, is found not only in Durham, but in the south-east of Scotland in the district marked German in Dr. Kombst's map, and scattered over the east-central districts of England.

Danes. The Dane of East Yorkshire and more especially of Lincolnshire presents unmistakeable peculiarities. Lincolnshire is pre-eminently Danish. To this conclusion I have been led, not only from minute personal observations, but from correspondence with that eminent philosophical novelist, Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton, whose works abound with the most valuable ethnological allusions and delineations. I need not refer to the termination *by* in the names of places, nor to family names which have continued unaltered since the time of the Scandinavian invasions, as proofs of the Danish derivation of the inhabitants of Lincolnshire. Their physical and mental characteristics reveal their origin. The Danish type in Lincolnshire would appear to present two subvarieties, the convex profiled and prominent mouthed Dane, and the sunk-mouthed and prominent chinned Dane, the first probably a connecting link with the Jute, the latter perhaps a connecting link with the higher Norwegian type, allied to what is commonly called Norman. Both have high cheek bones, a sinking in above the cheek bones at the sides of the forehead, long face and high nose, ruddy complexion, red or sandy hair, or failing the hair, red or sandy whiskers. The skull is rather narrow and elongated, with very large perceptive organs, especially *locality*, rather large comparison, moderate causality, rather large benevolence and veneration, very large *hope*, very large firmness, large self-esteem, etc. Temperament sanguine. Tall and rather loosely made figure, long legs and arms.

Mental characteristics:—tendency to energetic exertion, which if not directed to good will find vent in mischief, liability to get into hot water, good masters but bad servants, great ambition, fond of good living and strong drink. The Danish character presents a combination of great faults and great virtues, unlike some races which exhibit neither the one nor the other.

Proceeding in a southerly direction we find a considerable proportion of the inhabitants of the east of England presenting the Dutch physical and mental peculiarities, a fact easily accounted for on historical grounds. But the more influential inhabitants of Norfolk and the neighbourhood are Danes. In Cambridgeshire and the north-west of Essex there would appear to be many Saxons, but in the east and south-east of Essex the mass of the people show very few signs of Teutonic origin. I should regard them as either of British or French-

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Flemish derivation. I have frequently heard it asserted that the smallest heads in England are to be found in Essex, but I have not had an opportunity of verifying this assertion by personal observation.

With regard to London, at which, after making the circuit of South Britain, I have now arrived, a separate paper might be written on the extent to which races have preserved their peculiarities; but as I have already, I fear, trespassed too long on your attention, I would conclude by remarking that as in geology so in ethnology, the more one investigates the more is the necessity for *subdivision* perceived; and as in geology the progress of inquiry reveals order, law, and system, where before chance was supposed to prevail, so in ethnology, the extension of observation confirms the belief that nothing has sprung up in a random manner, that no combination of features or assemblage of faculties, no relative form or arrangement of physical or moral peculiarities has accidently arisen; but that, on the contrary, fixed principles pervade every interstice of the organic as well as inorganic worlds, principles of which all the diversities of countenance, figure, and mental character we discover among men are but the embodiments. An ethnological survey of England and Wales discloses no indication of types becoming *permanently* modified through the influence of climate and habit, for everywhere we find the most diverse peculiarities under the same circumstances, and the most striking uniformity of type under the most dissimilar conditions; and such a result accords with the discovery of Professor Rask, of Stockholm, that the form of Scandinavian skulls was precisely the same 2,000 years ago, as at the present day. The most modern aspect of ethnology does not seem to favour the doctrine that one organic form has gradually arisen out of another during the indefinite lapse of ages without the intervention of a creative act, or at least a *creational law*. That a law admitting of, or regulating forces by which new species replace those which have died out, and that these new species may appear on the stage of time synchronously with the circumstances to which they are adapted, can easily be conceived; but that this law can embrace a process of progressive improvement to which no limit can be assigned, as some naturalists suppose, seems to be little short of a contradiction in terms. Does it not become the geologists and ethnologists of the present day to consider whether a law can possibly exist, the end of which is not seen from the beginning, and whether the general analogy of time and space warrants the supposition that any deviations from *uniformity* can ever take place which are not *cyclically compensated?*

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XVIII.—*On the Physical Characteristics of the Jews.* By John Beddoe, B.A., M.D., F.E.S.

I have two objects in inviting the attention of the Society to the subject of the Physical Characteristics of the Jews. In the first place, I should be glad to elicit from those who have already considered it, their views as to what peculiarities of form and feature do really constitute that type, which most of us believe to distinguish the Hebrews from every other people. In the second, I wish to lay before the Society such information as I have been able to procure, respecting the varieties of complexion among the Jews, and to make a few remarks on their probable origin.

It would be difficult, perhaps, to define what it is that makes a Jew's eye proverbially recognisable. It is generally full and prominent, though the brow is well marked. Some think its principal peculiarity is the long almond shape; but this is common to several Oriental peoples; and the expression of meditative mildness, with a degree of cunning, or sometimes of timidity, which appears almost always to accompany it in the Israelite, and which seems to speak of centuries of oppression patiently endured by a people of great intellectual powers, is not, I believe, usually observed in other people with eyes of that form. That it is not the colour may be easily shown. Nor does it consist in obliquity of the opening, for persons of thoroughly Jewish aspect may be seen to present, some one, and some the other kind of obliquity, while in most of them the opening is, I think, as strictly horizontal as in other so-called Caucasian people.

Again, can any distinctive character be traced in the lower jaw, or in the nose? The former is usually somewhat heavy though rounded, with a receding chin and full lips; while the upper maxilla is large, and the nasal bones low at the root, and salient. But individuals deficient in some of these marks are to be met with every day. In some Jews, who are at once recognized as such from the *tout ensemble* of their features, the profile of the nose is concave. In such persons, however, there is often a slight downward curve towards the point, as though the bridge had slid down a little below its proper place.

The common type of nose is not sufficiently described when it is called aquiline, though that term is etymologically very appropriate. There are usually, I think, more hollowness at the root, more depression at the point, and more tucking-up of the wings, than in high-nosed persons of Aryan race.

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As to the prevailing form of skull, I will make only one observation, viz., that in Turkey the crania of the Jews appeared to me to be longer and narrower than those of the other races. Colonel Hamilton Smith* calls the Jewish skull spherical, in which I cannot agree with him.

The varieties of complexion and colour among the Jews have attracted the attention of some ethnological writers, and of many observant travellers. These differ widely among themselves in their notions on the subject.

Dr. Prichard, for example, seems to have believed that the Jews, without having sullied the purity of their blood to an extent capable of producing notable effects on their physique, had been, by the influence of climate and modes of living, almost assimilated to the nations among whom they dwelt. "Among the Jews of Northern Europe," he says,† "the xanthous variety becomes general," and he instances particularly those settled in North Germany as being conspicuous for their bushy red beards.

These views and this illustration have been frequently quoted and made much of. I suspect them to be doubly erroneous. I doubt whether red beards are more common among German than other Jews; and I doubt whether any evidence can be adduced to show that climatic influence, without crossing of blood, has produced any change in the Jewish physiognomy.

It is true that Professor Owen has lately expressed himself very positively in the same sense with the illustrious ethnologist just quoted. He professes, indeed, to derive, from the variations of the Jewish race, a proof of the unity of origin of mankind. "For 1800 years," says he, "that race has been dispersed in different latitudes and climates, and they have preserved themselves distinct from intermixture with other races of mankind. There are some Jews still lingering in the valleys of the Jordan, having been oppressed by the successive conquerors of Syria for ages, a low race of people, and described by trustworthy travellers as being as black as any of the Ethiopian races. Others of the Jewish people, participating in European civilization, and dwelling among the northern nations, show instances of the light complexion, the blue eyes and light hair of the Scandinavian families. The condition of the Hebrews, since their dispersion, has not been such as to admit of much admixture by the proselytism of household slaves. We are thus led to account for the differences in colour by the influ-

* Nat. Hist. of the H. Sp., p. 393.

† Researches, iv, 597.

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ence of climate, without having to refer them to original or specific distinctions."

On two of the three statements made in the above paragraph, viz., the occurrence of xanthous individuals among the northern Jews, and the supposed infrequency of proselytism, I will touch presently. The remaining one is very important, if true. I regret that I have been unable, in the course of inquiries made on the subject, to trace it to its source. I have examined many books of travels, and interrogated many travellers, but have not been able to get any confirmation of the existence of these negroid Jews.

I am informed by Mr. Hodges of Bristol, who was long a missionary among the Jews in different countries, that there are no Jews in the Ghor, or lower valley of the Jordan. There is a populous settlement, of ancient date, at Tiberias, on the low hot shore of the Lake of Gennesareth; but the Jews there present no striking peculiarities, certainly not black skins or crisp hair. Some of them are quite fair.

Is it not possible that the foundation of this statement may, after all, be found in the writings of Silk Buckingham, who noticed some flat-faced, crisp-haired people among a tribe on the Lower Hami or Hieromax? The tribe, however, was Arab, not Jewish; the complexions were not so dark as those of some other Arabs; and lastly, the presence of a black slave girl suggested the probability of negro concubinage.

In this connexion an account of the Jews of Waregla, given by Mr. Tristram in his recently published travels in the Sahara, is deserving of mention. Waregla is an oasis in the desert, about north lat. 32°, inhabited by a race believed by Mr. Tristram to be deeply stained with negro blood. The Jews have been settled there for ages. "They afford," says he, "an interesting example of the effect of climate, which, in the course of generations, seems to have produced the dark colouring pigment. They were almost as black as negroes, much darker than their brethren of the M'zab and Wed R'hir; yet there was not the slightest trace of the negro features: all the lineaments were as distinctively Jewish as in any clothes-dealer in Houndsditch. They were as dark as the black Jews of Abyssinia, whom I have seen in Jerusalem, but the hair, without being woolly, was grizzled and matted.

The Jews of Ghardaia, in the Wed M'zab, are also stated to be very dark, dark as Hindoos, but "with features intensely Jewish." On the other hand, Mr. Tristram found in and near Tuggurt a sept of Mussulmans, who never intermarry with the others, and who are very fair, with strongly marked Jewish features. They are called Mahadjeriah, and are said to be of the

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earliest date of settlement, who submitted to the Koran several centuries ago. Mr. Ginsberg (*Jewish Intelligence*, No. 308), who also met with these Hebrew Moslems, says that the characteristic signs of the Jewish face are very recognizable; and that, in spite of the influence of climate, the Jew retains his white complexion, and forms a striking contrast to the native Arabs, and even Moors. Mr. Ginsberg did not visit Waregla; but his remark is probably meant to extend to the Jews of the M'zab and other oases, which he did visit. These last facts seem to neutralize that stated respecting the Jews of Waregla. At all events, one can hardly attribute the wide difference between the Mahadjeriah and the Waregla Jews, who are separated by little more than a degree of latitude, counterbalanced by a considerable difference in elevation, to the effects of climate alone, especially as no analogous difference is noted between the non-Jewish inhabitants of the two districts. It would be at least as legitimate a conjecture if we supposed the Wareglan Jews to be hybrids, deriving their colour from the negro, and their features from the Jewish parent.

Some have accepted as the Jewish type "a more or less sallow complexion, black hair and eyes, aquiline nose, and high but receding forehead";* and then, attributing all exceptional instances to admixture of alien blood, have used the supposed invariability of this type among pure-blooded Hebrews as an argument in favour of their polygenistic views. Others, again, have admitted the existence of two distinct types (at least in certain countries), of which the second is thus described by Gliddon: "It is distinguished," says he, "by lank and tall frame, clear blue eye, very white and freckled skin, and yellowish-red hair.†

Most of the writers who have taken up this opinion, have done so independently; and some of them, having made their observations in only one or two countries, have supposed the phenomenon of a xanthous type among Jews to be confined within more or less narrow geographical limits. Hamilton Smith, however, ascribed it to the whole race (p. 391).

I will now proceed to adduce what evidence I have collected as to the Jews of particular countries and families. And first let us take the Ashkenazim, the Northern or German and Polish Jews, the great bulk of whom seem to have had a common descent, and to have spread gradually eastward from the great Roman cities on the Rhine. There is much German in the colloquial dialect of the Polish Jews, though their costume is Oriental to this day.

* Gliddon, Indig. Races, p. 579.

† Ibid., p. 580.

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"The Polish Jew," says Henderson,* "is generally of a pale and sallow complexion; the features are small, and the hair mostly black. A fine beard covers the chin. Few of them enjoy a robust constitution, an evil resulting from a combination of physical and moral causes."

"They have," says Kohl,† tall meagre figures; their complexion is always pale, and this does not appear to be occasioned by personal cares or troubles, but to be the common colour of the race; it is at the same time very delicate. They have brilliant eyes, and black hair. How the Italian painters created so many beautiful Jewish heads, without ever having been among the Polish Jews, I am at a loss to understand."

James, a very observant traveller, wrote thus of the Jews of Volhynia: "We could not help being very much struck with the beauty of this race of people, for they seem by no means to have degenerated from limiting themselves to intermarriage with their own breed. The character of countenance is from this circumstance almost invariably the same, not in any way resembling what we call in England the Jewish turn of feature. The women were remarkably handsome, their persons large and full, their faces very regularly formed, with black eyes and hair, set off with delicate complexions of white and red. The men tall and straight, but rather of a spare habit, their features small, and fashioned very much like that meek and placid countenance which the Italian painters have invariably given to the picture of our Saviour. This peculiar style of visage, however, was gradually lost as we approached nearer to the confines of Germany, nor did it anywhere seem so prevalent as in this province."

Another traveller‡ remarked in Lithuania "swarms of people differing entirely from the other inhabitants in physical appearance and costume; and in whose sharply-drawn features, long beards, coal-black eyes, and flowing dresses, I at once recognized," says he, "the children of Israel. Here I observed what has often been remarked by other travellers, when the features were at rest, a style of face and expression resembling the pictures of the Saviour in the Italian galleries."

All the accounts I can get represent the Jews of Germany as generally dark-eyed and dark-haired.

The xanthous type does, however, occur among them, though Dr. Prichard's informants evidently much exaggerated its frequency. The same statement applies to those of Holland, who descend partly from the Portuguese stock.

Koch has given a minute description of the Karaim, who in-

* Biblical Researches. † Travels in Austria, etc. ‡ Stephens.

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habit Chufut-kale, in the Crimea. "Though of short stature," he says, "they are not at all stunted. Their heads are rather round, instead of being long. Their plump and round faces, the features of which are not at all prominent, have nothing of the Jew about them. The Jews have generally a large nose; but in the Karaim this feature is small, and, as in the Greek face, forms nearly a straight line with the forehead. In their eyes, which are also round, there is a dark ring, which is scarcely separated from the pupil. The mouth appears remarkably small, and the chin projects very slightly. The hair is black, but not so harsh as that of our Jews, which it resembles in being lustreless. The beard seems to be generally weak among the Karaim."

These people, according to Haxthausen, use the Jagatay-Tatar dialect. Koch's description of them, just quoted, reminds one in most respects of the Tatar type, though the not very intelligible account of the Karaite eye does not do so. If any descendants exist of those Khazars who adopted Judaism for their religion, it is at Chufut-kale that they are most likely to be found. On the whole, I think we are entitled to regard the Karaim as Israelites in little else than their religion, and to exclude all further consideration of them from this discussion.

Let us now pass to the Sephardim—the Southern, or Mediterranean Jews. Hitherto we have found the Jews to be remarkable as a black-haired people, dwelling among races preponderantly xanthous: henceforth we shall find the relation of colour generally reversed.

"In Morocco their women are generally grey-eyed," says Hamilton Smith. "Their complexions are remarkably fair," says Lempriere, who practised as a surgeon in Morocco in the last century. In Algeria, Rozet, Bory de St. Vincent, Broca, have all noticed the frequency of blond hair among them. Mr. Wilde made a similar observation in Tunis, twenty years ago; he perceived its importance, and recorded it in his *Narrative*.*

Mr. Blakesley, in his recent work on Algeria, has given some interesting statements on the subject, which are all the more valuable, as his observations also were made quite independently. "The type of the Jewish countenance," says he, "is, at least as regards the women, very different as one gets further east. At Algiers, the expression is mean and ugly to the last degree; the nose is hooked, and the chin short and receding; and this effect is increased by their habit of tying up the lower

* See Cyprian, "De Habitu Virginum," for the antiquity in Barbary of the female practice of dyeing the hair. But Mr. Wilde was well acquainted with the use of henna.

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jaw, like that of a corpse, with a handkerchief. At Constantine, the nose was straighter, and the chin longer and fuller, and I was astonished to find some with fair complexions and auburn hair, who reminded me of one of Guercino's Esthers: but the majority were dark. On arriving at Tunis, I found this the predominant type of the female Jewish physiognomy, which accident gave me an unusual facility for observing. On the 1st of May it is the practice to decorate the synagogues with flowers and wax candles. Every woman who has been married during the previous month comes to the synagogue of her district, dressed out as handsomely as she can compass, and remains till midnight. Those I saw were all much alike. Their hair varied from black to auburn, but their complexions were invariably bright and clear."

Mr. Blakesley further informs me that, according to his observations, the straight profile and full chin of the Jewish women are very rarely indeed not conjoined with the xanthous complexion. West of Algiers, he thinks, he never saw a Jewess who was not dark (although sometimes the dark hair was accompanied by very dark blue eyes), and scarcely one who had not a hooked nose and a receding chin.

Berbrugger, again, says "that great varieties of complexion, colour of eyes and of hair, occur in all the Algerian races." He adds, however, that "sous le ciel d'Afrique, de même qu'en Europe, les Juifs ont leur type spéciale; nez aquilin, barbe noire, œil magnifique quoique toujours faux, teint blanc et lisse. Il est facile de les reconnoître à cet air de fourberie et d'humilité, à cette inclinaison du corps penché en avant, à ces traits sevères, et à ces demicercles qui encadrent leurs noires prunelles, et qui sont un des signes particulières de leur race."

Gliddon,* if I rightly interpret his slovenly manner of writing, says that xanthous Jews are rare in Egypt and Syria, but frequent in Rhodes, Smyrna, and Constantinople. But Sir Gardner Wilkinson found the Syrian Jews also to be frequently xanthous, and recorded the fact, of which he appears to have supposed himself the first observer, in the abridged edition of his work on the Egyptians.† His remarks are so interesting and pertinent, that it may be well to read them at length.

"Here I may mention a remarkable circumstance, that the Jews of the East to this day often have red hair and blue eyes, with a nose of delicate form and nearly straight, and are quite unlike their brethren of Europe; and the children in modern Jerusalem have the pink and white complexions of Europeans. The Oriental Jews are at the same time unlike the other Syrians

* Indigenous Races of the Earth, p. 580. † Vol. ii, p. 197-9.

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in features; and it is the Syrians who have the large nose which strikes us as a peculiarity of the Western Israelites. This prominent feature was always a characteristic of the Syrians, but not of the ancient, nor of the modern, Jews of Judæa; and the Saviour's head, though not really a portrait, is evidently a traditional representation of the Jewish face, which is still traceable at Jerusalem. No real portrait of Him was ever handed down; and Eusebius of Cæsarea pronounced the impossibility of obtaining one for the sister of Constantine, but the character of the Jewish face would necessarily be known in those early days (in the fourth century), when the first representations of Him were attempted; and we should be surprised to find any artist abandon the style of features thus agreed upon for ages, and represent the Saviour with those of our Western Jews. Yet this would be perfectly correct if the Jews of his day had those features; and such would have been, in that case, his traditional portrait.

"I had often remarked the colour and features of the Jews in the East, so unlike those known in Europe; and my wish to ascertain if they were the same in Judæa was at length gratified by a visit to Jerusalem; where I found the same type in all those really of Eastern origin, and the large nose is there an invariable proof of admixture with a Western family. It may be difficult to explain the great difference in the Eastern and Western face (and the former is said to be also found in Hungary); but the subject is worthy of investigation, as is the origin of those Jews now living in Europe, and the early migrations that took place from Judæa, long before the Christian era. These would be more satisfactory than mere speculations on the lost tribes."

Curzon, in his *Monasteries of the Levant*, has the following passage. "It is remarkable that those Jews who are born in Jerusalem are of a totally different caste from those we see in Europe. Here they are a fair race, very lightly made, and particularly effeminate in manner: the young men wear a lock of long hair on each side of the face."

This long lock, by the way, is very commonly worn among the Polish Jews also. I believe they assign as a reason for wearing it the passage in Leviticus xix, 27: "Ye shall not round the corners of your heads; neither shalt thou mar the corners of thy beard." But it may be worth while to note that the same fashion was in use among the Rebo of the Egyptian monuments, who were a xanthous Asiatic people.

In 1637, Sandys gave a quaint description of the Jews of Jerusalem, which rather leads one to suppose that no great change has taken place there in the mean time. "They are

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men of indifferent statures, and the best complexions. Many of them have I seen abused, some of them beaten, yet never saw I Jew with an angry countenance. Their familiar speech is Spanish, yet few of them are ignorant in the Hebrew, Turkish, Moresco, vulgar Greek, and Italian languages. Their women are generally fat and goggle-eyed."* Some points in this curious account will be acknowledged, by those who have travelled in the Levant, to be tolerably applicable at the present day.

Mr. Hodges agrees with all other travellers whom I have interrogated, as to the good looks and fair complexions of the Sephardim of Jerusalem. Some cursory observers even bring away the impression that the majority of them are xanthous, but this is doubtless an exaggerated idea. A Jerusalem Jew who himself combined grey eyes and light brown eyebrows with black hair, was interrogated on the subject by my friend Mr. Barnard Davis. He maintained that the majority of his fellow citizens had black hair, but that many had it of other colours, such as we see in England. Probably his account would be pretty correct, if he had said "black or dark brown," instead of "black."

I am informed by Mr. Hodges that there are in Galilee at least two villages, Shefa Amar and Boukeyah, where Jews are agriculturists and proprietors of the soil. Shefa Amar, which is said to be mentioned in the Talmud, is in Lower Galilee, not far from Acco: Boukeyah is in a very retired situation, hidden in a cleft of the mountains that extend eastwards from the White Cape. Here, if anywhere, it is likely that a remnant of the ancient Galilean population may have remained undisturbed; and I commend the careful observation of the Boukeyans in particular to any ethnologist who may be travelling in their neighbourhood.

I have not been able to find any sufficient account of the physique of the Jews of Kurdistan and Persia. Layard† met with a nomadic and pastoral tribe of Jews in the mountains south of Wan, but he says nothing of their physique, except that it differed notably from that of the neighbouring Kurds.

As for the black Jews of Cochin, I believe it is now generally acknowledged that they are not Jews at all, except in religion. Among the so-called white Jews, indeed, there may be a fair proportion of true Israelite blood, and accordingly they are stated to have retained, after the lapse of so many centuries, a comparatively fair complexion. But I can obtain no

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* Sandys' Travels. † Layard's Discoveries (second expedition), p. 383.

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accurate information on the point, and none at all as to the colour of their hair.

Pickering speaks indefinitely of unexpected varieties of feature and complexion found among the Bombay Jews. He mentions also some Jewish boys seen at Aden,* who had flaxen hair, adding that he did not recollect having ever seen hair of that colour among Orientals, *i. e.*, apparently, among the inhabitants of the southern coast and islands of Asia. He says nothing, however, of red hair.

The results of my own observations on the subject are contained in the tables appended to this paper. They exhibit the colours of the hair and eyes in 665 persons. Of these 33 were seen at Constantinople, 54 at Brusa, 54 more at Chanak-kalesi on the Dardanelles, and 92 at Smyrna, making a total of 233 Oriental Jews. At Amsterdam I noted but 13, and at Rome only 7, one of whom had red hair; at Prague, where they have a very ancient and populous settlement, 100; and at Vienna 113, including a good many from Poland and Moravia. To these I have lately added 50 in Bristol, all or almost all, of German descent, 100 from the congregation at the Great Synagogue in Duke's Place, London, who are Ashkenazim, and 50 from that of the neighbouring Portuguese synagogue.

There is, it will be observed, a considerable resemblance between the proportions of the different colours found in the northern and southern Jews, though the latter inhabit a country enjoying an annual temperature from 10° to 15° Fahrenheit higher than that of Prague and Vienna. The most notable difference consists in the greater proportion of red-haired persons in the Levant, where it equals that found in many Saxon districts of England. It becomes conspicuous there to the most unobservant traveller, from the great rarity of the colour among all the other races of the Levant. The German and Polish Jews, on the other hand, dwell in the midst of more or less xanthous races, though red hair is not indeed nearly so common in Bohemia and Lower Austria as it is further west, where Teutonic predominates over Slavic blood. Nevertheless they exhibit here a proportion of red hair, equal indeed or superior to that of southern Europeans in general, but much less than that of their eastern brethren, while in other respects there is no very noteworthy difference. Dark brown hair is more common than black in both divisions. Light eyes are more common in the northern than in the southern division, though black and brown form the majority in both. The colour of the skin is comparatively light; and in Turkey I

* Pickering's Races of Man, p. 244.

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found the Jews and Greeks, as a rule, conspicuously fairer than the Armenians and Turks.

Red and fair hair is by no means always accompanied by blue or grey eyes. Hazel eyes and chesnut or auburn hair, with a very fair complexion, form a frequent combination. A very light shade of hazel, which should rather be called yellow, and which sometimes reminds one of the cat's eye, is not uncommon: Mr. R. Stuart Poole considers this colour to be peculiarly Jewish.* The eyes in the xanthous are usually well opened, and the features altogether softer and less strongly marked. The comparatively straight profile, spoken of by Sir Gardner Wilkinson, Mr. Blakesley, and others, as pertaining usually to the xanthous Jews of Africa and the East, is not unfrequent, I think, among their northern brethren of like complexion. In both divisions I have seen faces of great beauty, which by their form and colour strongly reminded me of the traditional representations of the Saviour; but such are, I think, much less rare in the east than at Prague, or Vienna, and rarest of all in England. Mr. Heaphy, in his recent papers in the *Art Journal*,† has done much towards proving that, at least as early as the second century, Christian artists at Rome had abandoned their previous mode of representing Jesus, for the type which has since been universally accepted, and which, I have little doubt, was really derived from the East. I shall presently show that the Jews of that day were almost certainly in the main a dark-haired people. If, therefore, the Roman artists had meant merely to represent Jesus as a Jew of great beauty, they would probably have copied from the handsomest examples of the common type; and the fact that they took in preference the rarer type, which is almost always associated with a light complexion, renders it almost certain that they followed a tradition—a tradition which, having had but a short time to run, may not unlikely have been founded on a fact.

To return from this digression. Are we not entitled to say that the xanthous type has been found among the Jews wherever it has been looked for, and notably in the regions of the Mediterranean and Levant?

Let us now briefly consider the manner in which it has been sought to account for these curious facts. Dr. Prichard, to whom they were very imperfectly known, ascribed them to climatic influence. I cannot see, however, how any one, in the present state of knowledge on the subject, can adhere to

* Genesis of the Earth and Man.

† An Examination of the Antiquity of the Likeness of our Blessed Lord.

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his views on this point. If we were to establish any relation at all between climate and the Jewish complexion, it would rather, probably, be the very paradoxical one, that the hotter the habitat the more rufous are the Jews. It is, however, almost equally difficult to ascribe all the phenomena to admixture of alien blood, at least to admixture subsequent to the dispersion of the nation. This is, nevertheless, the hypothesis that has been embraced by most authorities. M. Paul Broca, for example, in a recent article in Brown-Séquard's *Journal de la Physiologie*, makes use of the supposed fact, that some parts of Hungary, and still more of Poland, had to some extent embraced Judaism between the eighth and the eleventh century. And Gliddon, after enlarging on the vicissitudes of their history, their forced conversions and relapses, and so forth, observes that Poland seems to be the focus of this fusion of the Jews with the German and Sarmatian races.

All this may be very true, but is scarcely relevant. What could have been the effect of intermixture with the swarthy Modyors, among whose descendants I have indeed occasionally seen flaxen, but hardly ever, so far as I can recollect, red hair? Nor have even the Poles or Slovaks enough of rufous blood to have leavened an alien dark race to any great extent.

Besides, the real difficulty is in Barbary and the Levant, the Jews of which regions have never mingled much with those of Poland and the north, but are known to be sprung from communities fixed there for very many centuries, overlaid, and in some places probably much outnumbered, since the latter part of the fifteenth century, by the descendants of the great Spanish and Portuguese emigration. Spanish is to this day, in most places, their domestic language, instead of the Greek, Turkish, or Arabic of general intercourse.

Mr. Blakesley derives the Jews of Tunis and Constantine in part from the Vandals of Genseric and Gelimer, of whom he believes a considerable portion to have become incorporated with the independent tribes of the interior, and to have assisted in raising the power of the latter to the pitch it attained not long afterwards. And Berbrugger says, "Si l'on en croit des historiens Arabes, la plupart des Arabes et des Berberes d'Afrique professaient le judaisme dès les septième et huitième siècles, et la prédication musulmane ne fit point de prosélytes chez eux." It is the fact that fair-haired people are numerous among the Berbers, at least in particular tribes, and some of these may have been incorporated among the Jews. But at the best these views affect only the people of Tunis and Algeria, and leave those of all the East, if not of Morocco, unaccounted for.

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That the Jews in Spain, while under Visigothic rule, mixed freely with their Christian countrymen, does not admit of doubt.* Their settlement was of ancient date: tradition named David and Solomon as its founders: they were largely engaged in the cultivation of the soil, as well as in trade: they were slave-holders, and appear to have been disposed to proselytise their slaves; and their belief in the unity of the godhead seems to have been a source of sympathy between them and the Arian Goths. It is noteworthy that Jews assisted vigorously in the defence of Arles against the Franks, and of Neapolis against Belisarius. The conversion of King Recared to Catholicism changed these friendly relations; and thenceforward, till the Moorish conquest, the Jews underwent most bitter persecutions; but in Narbonnese or Gothic Gaul they continued to flourish, and Basnage states facts sufficient to prove that even in the ninth century the conversion of Christians to Judaism was not infrequent. Still later, in the thirteenth century, Rabbi Moses de Cozzi attributed some persecutions to God's anger against his people for marrying strange women.

That numerous body, therefore, who, by the cruel edicts of Ferdinand and Isabella, and of Emanuel of Portugal, were finally expelled from the Peninsula, and committed as it were to the Mediterranean, to be flung here and there upon its southern and eastern shores, may—nay, must—have been of very mixed descent. But we have surely no reason to suppose that they can have carried away with them more Gothic blood than they left behind. And though red hair seems to have been not uncommon among the Gothic aristocracy of Spain, in the middle ages—Pedro the Cruel, Isabella the Catholic, the great Marquis of Cadiz, and Vasco Nuñez de Balboa, were all red-haired—the colour is certainly rare at the present day in the mass of the Spanish people. Besides, though the language, in default of countervailing evidence, renders it probable that the Spanish emigrants contributed more largely to the ancestry of the Levantine Jews than did those whom they found already settled in the maritime cities, it is likely that the latter formed not inconsiderable communities. Benjamin of Tudela, in the twelfth century, had found, or professed to have found, 2,500 of his nation in Constantinople, where they occupied, it would seem, their present quarter, on the northern shore of the Golden Horn. He mentioned also a large community, of nearly 300 persons, at Salonica, and others at Rodosto, at Gallipoli, and elsewhere.

The admixture of Visigothic, Vandal, or other Germanic

* Basnage, passim. Finn's Sephardim.

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blood, seems, then, insufficient to account for the phenomenon under discussion, and it may be necessary to fall back on the ideas of Sir G. Wilkinson and Colonel Hamilton Smith. These agree in supposing the rufous type to have existed among the Jews from the earliest ages, and to have belonged to the original Israelite stock, as distinguished from the Syrian. That about the time when we begin to have evidence of the separate existence of the Hebrews, people of xanthous type occupied some of the warmer regions of Western Asia, is rendered probable by the Egyptian representations of their enemies, the Rot-n-nu and the Rebo. Some of the red-haired captives portrayed in them have even been supposed to be Canaanites, but I am not aware that there is any good authority for such a notion.

It is impossible, however, to maintain that the Jews were ever predominantly xanthous. What evidence can be gathered from the Bible, from the Mishna, and from the Talmud, all runs quite the other way; and of this I am assured by a great authority in Hebrew literature, the Rev. Aaron Green, of London. In the first place, *black* is always spoken of as the healthy colour of the hair, in the regulations of Moses respecting leprosy. In Canticles the bride is made to say, "I am black, but comely." "Look not down on me because I am black (dark), hence it might be inferred that the general colour was fair; else why the apologetic tone of the interlocutor. But in the same book the same person says of the bridegroom, "His head is as the most fine gold; his locks are curled, and black as a raven." The Mishna and Talmud furnish strong grounds for supposing that other colours than black were exceptional. In them black (shachor) is used as a synonym for hair (séor). Thus, "He who vows the *black* of the head," and in the Ethics, "Affable to the black (young)," *i. e.* to the young whose hair is black. In the Talmud, commenting on Leviticus, it is said, "He uses '*black*,' because it was a generic term for *hair*." The word frequently translated "*fair*" in the Old Testament signifies, I am informed, *beautiful*.

The only mention of hair of other colours seems to be in the case of Esau, supposing that the word "admoni," "*red*," all over *red*, like unto a hairy garment, refers to the hair, as it almost certainly does.

Let us now return to the ascertained facts discussed in the earlier parts of this paper. These seem most consistent with the supposition that the xanthous element of the Ashkenazim and Sephardim was to some extent derived from a common source, the greater part of which, however, flowed into the veins of the latter.

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Three considerations occur to me with respect to this difficulty. One is, that the Jewish traditions as to the very early date of their settlement in Spain may very probably have been founded on fact; and that though the tomb and epitaph of Adoniram, Solomon's collector of tribute in Tarshish, may never have existed, yet colonies may actually have been sent by them to Tarshish, *i. e.* Spain, and even to Cornwall, to Marazion and the land of tin, long before that Babylonian captivity, which may have wrought a change on the physical as well as on the moral character of the race.

Another is, that the xanthous type may have belonged to the Phœnician rather than to the Hebrew stock, and that both in Africa and in Spain remnants of the former may have become incorporated with the latter, and thus transmitted some of their physical peculiarities to the modern Jews.

A third conjecture remains. The Idumeans were compelled by Hyrcanus to be circumcised, a rite they had apparently renounced, and they afterwards gradually amalgamated with the southern Jews. Did the name of Edom, אדום, the red, originate in the colour of the soil, or in that of its inhabitants, or, by attribution, in that of their supposed forefather Esau? If it arose in the second way, (and I believe it is consistent with Arab usage to name a tribe from any peculiarity of complexion or feature), then another possible source of the xanthous element is pointed out.

It is hardly possible to take leave of the subject, without remarking on a quality of the Jewish race, which may perhaps be in some degree connected with its double physical type, and which has been repeatedly enlarged upon by those who have written on its peculiar nosology.* I mean, that as the Jews in their own body represent the two extreme types of the Caucasian family, the pure xanthous or rufous and the melanous, so they are able, it seems, to live, thrive and multiply in all countries where any branch of that family can subsist. In Sweden they increase in numbers, and the proportion of children to married persons appears, from the census tables, to be greater than among the Christian population. In the towns of Algeria they are, according to Boudin,† the only race that is able to maintain its numbers, while Frenchmen, Spaniards, Moors and Negroes tend to die off more or less rapidly. And in Cochin and Aden, the latter one of the hottest places in the world, they succeed in rearing children, and in forming permanent communities.

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* Nott & Boudin. † Geographie Médicale.

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COLOUR OF EYES AND HAIR IN SIX HUNDRED AND SIXTY-SIX JEWS, OF SEVERAL COUNTRIES.

	No. of Persons observed.	Eyes Light. Hair.					Eyes Neutral. Hair.					Eyes Dark. Hair.				
		Red.	Fair.	Brown.	Dark.	Black.	Red.	Fair.	Brown.	Dark.	Black.	Red.	Fair.	Brown.	Dark.	Black
Brusa	54	1	1·5	9·5	4·5	2·5	—	—	3	1	—	—	—	5·5	10·5	15
Stambul	33	2	—	2·5	2·5	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	·5	7·5	16
Dardanelles.....	54	2	·5	·5	3	—	—	—	1·5	4	·5	1	1	1·5	20·5	18
Smyrna	92	1	1	5	6·5	·5	1	2	4	5	—	1	1	7	28·5	28·5
Prague.....	100	1	1	10·5	8·5	4	—	—	4·5	5	2·5	—	—	1	38	24
Vienna.....	50	—	—	7	7·5	·5	—	—	1	7·5	1·5	—	—	—	13	12
Do. (many Polish)..	63	1	4·5	11·5	9	2	—	—	2	5	—	—	—	3·5	11	13·5
Amsterdam	13	—	—	—	·5	·5	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1·5	10·5	—
Rome	7	—	—	—	1	—	1	—	—	1	1	—	—	—	2	1
Bristol.....	50	—	1	4	4	1	1	—	3·5	1	1·5	—	—	1	15	16
London	100	—	2	6·5	12·5	2	1	1	2·5	8	1·5	—	—	2·5	22	38·5
Do. (Portuguese) ..	50	—	2	2	5	2	—	—	2	4·5	1·5	—	1	1	8·5	20·5

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XIX.—*Some Observations on a Collection of Human Crania and other Human Bones at present preserved in the Crypt of a Church at Hythe in Kent.* By ROBERT KNOX, M.D., Hon. F.E.S., Corresponding Member of the Imperial Academy of Medicine of France, and Foreign Associate of the Anthropological Society of Paris, etc., etc.

WHILST residing at Dover for a short time during the autumn of the present year (1860), I recollected the rumours I had heard some years ago of a vast collection of human crania and other human bones piled up in a vault under the church of Hythe, and I availed myself of the opportunity of examining these bones in the company of my esteemed friend, Mr. A. Phillips of Dover. Access to them was easy, and generally speaking they are in a good state of preservation. Some hundreds of the crania having been placed on shelves facilitated their examination; in addition to these there is a vast pile of other bones, including also many crania, in the same vault or crypt (under the east end of the chancel of the church), a pile measuring about twenty-eight feet in length by eight in height, and as many in depth or breadth. This pile seems composed mostly of bones of the extremities, but I observed many skulls and fragments of skulls, as well as portions of the haunch bones or pelvis. Our time did not admit of an examination of the contents of this vast pile of bones; which, in so far as I could observe, consisted of the bones of adult men of good size, some evidently of large stature. Amongst them I observed a well-marked specimen of a rickety tibia and ulna, showing that the disease we now call rickets was not unknown at the time these men perished, whatever might be the date. There were two or three bones which evidently had belonged to children, and two crania of boys apparently of eight or ten years of age; all the rest had belonged to adult men. The crania and other bones presented but few varieties; a fact, however, which may in part be attributed to this; that they are chiefly the bones of the adult. No specimen of the humerus shewed a supra-condyloid process, and in one only was the supra-trochlear cavity perforated by an opening passing through the bone. Such varieties are by no means uncommon at the present time, and specimens may be found in most museums of human anatomy.

The crania arranged on the shelves chiefly attracted my attention. They much resembled each other. *I did not observe any female crania.* The crania, in brief, strongly resembled those of the present inhabitants of South Britain. They presented few varieties, and none peculiar or different

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from what we now find. The crania generally are well formed and of good size; the jaws are comparatively small, or at least well proportioned; the teeth regular and sound; the malar bones not particularly prominent; the sutures distinct and well articulated. The squamous suture uniformly arched; supernumerary bones are not of frequent occurrence, and the crania throughout are nearly symmetrical, or as much so as we expect to find them. The nasal bones are well formed, and none of the crania exhibit marks of pressure, whether applied before or after death. They seem to have belonged, if not wholly, at least in a great degree, to adult men in the prime of life. Several bear the marks of violence, as if inflicted by a sharp weapon; in one a small orifice penetrated through and through the skull, but the mischief might have been caused by disease, and had most assuredly taken place long prior to the death of the person, as was evident by the large amount of new osseous matter deposited all around the opening. Of disease I found only one specimen among the crania, and a second less distinct. This was a case of hypertrophy of the bones of the cranium, a disease first described by the elder Jussieu.*

Under this head may also be included a few enormously heavy skulls of the density of ivory, a more advanced stage probably of the disease described by Jussieu.

I had almost forgot to mention a case of caries of the left parietal bone with no attempts at a cure by nature, shewing that caries was just as incurable then as now. In one instance only, and this is sufficiently remarkable, did I find a narrow elongated cranium, with the remarkable transverse depression across the head, which Mr. Foville, erroneously no doubt, ascribed to tight swathing of the child immediately after birth. This cranium was dense and fully ossified. None of the crests in these crania were prominent, nor had the bones any appearance of belonging to a hardy, coarse, primitive race.

The frontal sinuses are often very large and generally quite distinct. An exostosis of large size occurred on the palate of another specimen, and one man had lost all his teeth. Whatever, then, was the condition of the country inhabited by these men, one thing is certain, that neither the climate nor mode of life had proved unfavourable to the human system. Low countries, such as Holland, are supposed to cause the greatest amount of diseased bones amongst its population; now ancient Kent was exceedingly marshy, and reputed unhealthy to a late period, and from this one might infer that these skeletons

* This malady is not confined to man; for I have known it attack the ape or baboon when confined in our menageries.

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did not belong to Kentish men. But such a conclusion could not be drawn with safety. These human crania, independent of the peculiarities caused by difference of race, present, as in all races, certain varieties, to which of late years the transcendental anatomist has given great attention. I shall here allude briefly to these; one general remark I may as well make here; the various conformations which these crania present are in no shape peculiar—neither, as it seems to me, are they so numerous as we find in modern crania. Nevertheless it is important to ascertain their presence or absence in any section of the human family. If wholly absent, they would imply a uniformity in the laws of reproduction, more resembling what is presumed to exist amongst savage races of men, or even the lower animals (amongst whom uniformity is the rule), than what takes place in the populations of densely populous civilized countries, where varieties in formation are presumed to occur much more frequently. Now amongst these crania I could observe but few varieties.

In one case a very distinct anterior interparietal bone existed; in another an equally distinct posterior interparietal bone; in two the frontal bone overlapped the parietals. In two there were supernumerary bones in the lambdoidal suture, and in one a supernumerary bone lay between the wing of the sphenoid and the parietal. There was a distinct spheno-parietal suture in all examined. This remarkable variety in the articulation of the bones of the head, I was, I think, the first to observe; it occurred in the cranium of a person of a coloured race, and struck me as remarkable, in so far as it repeats the formation of the oran, ape, baboon, and other lower animals, in whom the large wing of the sphenoid frequently does not extend to the parietal. I afterwards found that the variety occurs in the white races of men, and does not seem to influence the development of the base of the sphenoid bone, which is of course the more important part. Nevertheless, it is a variety well worth noting when it does occur.

In that excellent work, *The Crania Britannica*, now in course of publication, there is an engraving of a skull disinterred at Ozengell in Kent, in which this variety is well marked. The authors consider it to be an *ancient Anglo-Saxon* skull.*

The conclusion I venture to draw from the examination of the collection at Hythe is, that the causes, whatever they may be (and they are still unknown) which give rise to the class

* The left side of the skull only is shewn in the engraving; it would be interesting to know if the variety occurs also on the right side.

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of varieties in the form of the human skull I now speak of, were not operating to the same extent on the population then as in the present day, but that they existed and shewed themselves occasionally. The laws of deformation must be as uniform as the laws of regular formation; what exists now must have existed long ago, but in natural science it is always of the last importance to prove by demonstration that such is the case. If the age of these skulls be 1400 years, then the same laws of formation and of deformation which prevail now prevailed then; the climate may have altered, but not the laws of life. The period it is true is but a drop in the ocean of time, and it may be of human life on the globe; still, if we admit each century to embrace three generations, then for forty-two generations the leaves of autumn have dropped into the grave since these men stood erect on English soil. During this long period, the form of the head in England has not altered. This leads me to the question of the antiquity of these bones.

What is the antiquity of these human relics, and to what race or nation did they belong? In the absence of historical facts we shall find it difficult to answer these questions.

In the vault of the church of Hythe, containing the pile of bones I examined, there hangs a written statement that these bones are the remains of persons who were slain in battle in 842, in the reign of Ethelwolf, fought between the Britons and the Danes. This gives them an antiquity of about 1000 years, and further states them to be the remains of the Danes who fell in that battle. This written statement is not authentic, and was probably copied from Hasteet. Mr. Mackie, in an excellent work on Folkestone, says, in reference to the pile of bones at Hythe, that "a memorial written in a fine hand by the favourite pupil of a local pedagogue is hung in the vault, stating on the authority of an ancient history of Great Britain, these bones to be the relics of a sanguinary battle with the Danes who landed here in 842, when the Britons (?) though victorious, were so horrified with the slaughter, that they fled and left the carcases of their enemies to whiten on the strand, from whence long afterwards their bones were gathered up and deposited in the church."

Mr. Mackie thinks that this tale is of modern invention, for the Rev. James Broome, the rector of Cheriton, the adjoining parish, and who must have been thoroughly acquainted with the district, writing at the beginning of the last century, mentions no such tradition. On the contrary, speaking of this great stack of dead men's bones and skulls, he tells us, "that how or by what means they were brought to this place (the charnel house under the church) the townsmen are altogether

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ignorant, and can give no account of the matter; he then adds, "probably the first occasion of them might be from what is related by Henry Knighton, *De Eventibus Anglicæ*, lib. iii, p. 2503, how, that in the reign of Edward I, about the year 1295, the then King of France, sending about three hundred ships for an English invasion, one of them, more favoured than the rest, came directly for Hythe, where, landing her men, the English who were there placed for the defence of the port, killed at that time two hundred and forty men, all that ship's crew, and afterwards burnt the ship out of which they landed. Now after this slaughter, these men's bones, in all probability, might be gathered up and laid here, after which daily accessions of more might be made till they increased to so vast a number as is still visible." Leland, too, though in the passage we have just quoted, he notices the "fair vault under the quire," makes no mention whatever of these bones. Whether they are, after all, anything more than a mere assemblage of such relics dug up at various times in the churchyard, or brought from some Roman or Saxon cemetery in the vicinity, is perhaps doubtful, but it is certainly curious that many of the skulls have the marks of violence upon them. The author has, on the other hand, in his possession, many fragments of Roman Saxon pottery and of mediæval coarse earthenware, which have been found very recently in restacking a portion of the pile.

As at Folkestone, several churches known to have existed at Hythe, have disappeared, though here more probably through the desecrating hand of man, than by the destructive action of the sea; for the condition of the soil, as well as historical facts, shew the gain of the land at this spot (Hythe) for many centuries.

"Altogether," Mr. Mackie observes, "there is much to interest us in Hythe, and more than I am able to bring into this little volume; indeed, its importance is such, that I feel it cannot be fairly treated as part of the neighbourhood of Folkestone, although the circle of my observations having extended considerably beyond it, I could not omit a brief notice."*

The Rev. James Browne (p. 163) published an edition of

* The author adds, that "the quantities of beautifully preserved charters, books of corporate meetings, accounts, deeds, and manuscripts, dating at least from the reign of Edward I, which by the courtesy of the Mayor and Corporation of Hythe have been submitted to my inspection, have fully determined me to appropriate a little book specially to this ancient and highly interesting town of Hythe, which will form another of the series of volumes which it is my intention to devote to the history of the Cinque Ports and their members."

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Somner's Forts and Ports of Kent, and was the author of *Travels over England, Scotland, and Wales,* and of several other works, was the Rector of Cheriton Church from 1679 to his death in 1719; he was also chaplain to the Cinque Ports, Vicar of Newington, to which parish Cheriton was annexed in 1771, both churches being under the same patron. It is in the nature of every rumour to increase by progress (*fama crescit eundo*), so as at last to become prodigious and unintelligible. To add to other difficulties as regards the collection at Hythe, I find evidence of a well grounded report that there existed long ago a similar collection of bones in a church at Folkestone, whose history has some relation to that at Hythe.

Tracing these rumours backwards in time through the works of Hasted, Brome, Somners, Gough, Lambard and Camden, I think that the theories as to their origin may be arranged under the following heads:—

1st. That the collections of bones now at Hythe and those which once existed at Folkestone are merely the remains of churchyard bones collected promiscuously. Now, as regards the collection at Hythe this theory is untenable. Of that at Folkestone I do not venture to offer any opinion, for the vault has been for some time built up; and my excellent friend, Mr. Phillips, who kindly undertook this part of the inquiry for me, did not succeed in entering the vault.

2. That the bones at Hythe are the remains of the Frenchmen killed in the time of King Edward the First (1295), and this is by far the most probable theory. They have an antiquity then of 565 years, and belong to a mixed people composed of several races, amalgamated for the time into a nation, and strictly analogous to the inhabitants of Kent at that period. An examination of the skulls bears out this view; they do not exhibit any of the peculiarities of a primitive distinct race of men.

3. A third theory flows from another rumour, namely, that they are the bones of the Danes slain in the battle between the English and Danes. Of this battle there is more than one account; according to some the bones at Hythe belong to both armies; others assert that the slaughtered Danes were buried at Folkestone, and the English at Hythe, whilst another account says that the Danish remains only were interred at Hythe, in proof whereof they point to some red hair still visible on one of the skulls. This was first observed by Mr. Alexander Walker, a distinguished anatomist. But neither can this theory be supported by an appeal to anatomy; for the Danish cranium could not be distinguished from the English of that day, composed of the ancient Belgian population of the

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country, with an infusion of Teutonic and Saxon blood. At that time, and long before, South England was in the hands of the people we call Saxons, that is, Teutons, composed of Jutes, Angles, and old Saxons; in other words, of Middle and Northern Germans. This race is too closely allied to the Scandinavian to admit of any verification by anatomy.

4. Rumour assigns the collection of bones at Hythe to the result of a battle fought between Vortigern heading the English, and the Teutons or Saxons in 455. This rumour gives us the hypothesis that the Saxons retreated towards Folkestone and that their dead was buried there, leaving the dead of the Britons to be interred at Hythe. Mr. Walker, a distinguished anatomist, who examined, at the recommendation of my esteemed friend, Mr. Tibbet, of Dovor, the collection at Hythe, some years ago, took no notice of this hypothesis, seemingly unaware of the Folkestone collection, but boldly asserted that the bones at Hythe were those of both nations or peoples; that the rounded skulls were those of the ancient Celtic Britons, and that the elongated heads had belonged to the German or Saxon invaders (for the Danes had not appeared at that time), and, further, that the square-shaped heads were Roman. Against this hypothesis there stand the following objections:—

1. No such distinction into round or long heads is perceptible amongst the crania at Hythe.

2. The English of the time of Vortigern were not the ancient British, but a mixed population of Belgians and Romans, Kent having then been for more than three hundred years a Roman province.

3. The ancient British were not Celts, but Belgians, although I admit that there may have been at the time a strong admixture of a race strongly affiliated with the Celts, namely, the Kymraig. But both Celt and Kymraig had given way before the Belgic occupation many centuries before the landing of Julius Cæsar. Anatomy does not enable us to determine the race or nations to whom these crania belonged, in consequence of the strong affiliation of the races and their long admixture; in northern Europe the Scandinavian and Teuton, or true German, had been long in contact, and were, no doubt, much mingled together; in Gaul the Belgian, who belongs to the Gaulish race, had mingled deeply with the true Celtic population of central France; in southern France the Aquitanian and Celt had fought as a united people under Hannibal, and long afterwards; whilst nearer the Rhone, the Ligurian, and Aquitanear must have frequently entered into alliances, not because of their being limitrophic races, but by reason of their being faces naturally allied. In the north-eastern provinces of England and Scotland, the Teutons and Scandinavians had count-

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less centuries before the advent of Cæsar driven the Celtic and Kymraig races into the mountains, that is, supposing that these races ever held possession of any portion of the lowlands of Scotland and England: a theory I greatly doubt.

In conclusion, the rumours I have just discussed are no doubt very ancient, and it would be interesting to ascertain the actual condition of the human remains in the church of Folkstone. Of the former existence of a pile of bones here similar to what still exists at Hythe there cannot, I think, be a doubt, as may, I think, be inferred by the following notice quoted from Hasted:—"In the north wall of the south aisle were deposited the remains of St. Eanswith in a stone coffin; and under that aisle is a large charnel house, in which are deposited the great quantity of bones supposed to be those of the Saxons slain in the battle fought near this place in the year 456." Leland also notices some facts bearing on this subject. Writing in the time of Henry VIII, he mentions the destruction of two churches by the encroachment of the sea, and further says, "hard upon the shore in a place called the castle yard, the which on the one side is dyked, and there be great ruins of a solemn old nunnery. The castle yard has been a place of great burial; yea, so much as where the sea hath worn on the bank bones appear, half flyking out."

XX.—*Notice of the Indians seen by the Exploring Expedition under the Command of Captain Palliser.* By JAMES HECTOR, M.D., and W. S. W. VAUX, M.A.

MANY travellers who have penetrated far into the Indian territories of North America and studied the manners, life, and habits of the Aborigines, are surprised at the inadequate and erroneous ideas they have previously conceived respecting these interesting and remarkable tribes. Yet, this can hardly arise from an absence of books on the subject. Much accurate and valuable information having long since been in print with reference to these people, especially in the able work of Mr. Catlin, on the North American Indians. The real cause of this seems to be, that, while these sources of sound knowledge are open to the public, other works of a more imaginative kind, such as the novels of Fenimore Cooper, have led the world generally to imagine the Indian to be a much more romantic personage than he really is. Nor, indeed, is this the only erroneous estimate which has been formed of this people; for they, on the other hand, who have only seen the Indians

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that live on the borders of civilization, degraded as these are by their begging habits and attachment to ardent spirits, are naturally too ready to conclude that all the tribes are like the corrupted specimens they have witnessed. The only way, therefore, to obtain correct notions of the Indians, is to observe them in their native haunts far from the influence of civilization; thus, and thus only, is there any chance of discerning the prominent elements of the character of these aborigines.

The tribes met with by the Expedition during its three years in North America were, chiefly, either Prairie or Thickwood Hunters, that is, they were either those who hunt the bison in the great plains, or who pitch their tents in the thickwoods for the purpose of hunting deer, bears, and the valuable fur-bearing animals. Neither of these great classes or groups have ordinarily recourse to fishing, because they could not by this means obtain anything that would be esteemed valuable at the trading establishments of the Hudson's Bay Company.

When they are successful in their hunts they visit the trading ports, where the Prairie Indians dispose of dried bison meat, tallow, buffalo robes, and the skins of wolves and foxes, and receive in return European manufactures; while the Thickwood Indians, in like manner, barter the more valuable furs for similar objects. In both classes alike, the office of the men is to kill and cut up the animals, the far more laborious duty of dressing the skins falling to the lot of the women.

As a general rule the bison hunters do not suffer from want of food; but it frequently happens that the lives of those who dwell in the Thickwoods are chequered by many days of privation and misery.

There is a marked difference between the Prairie Indians and those of the Thickwoods, owing, no doubt, to the dissimilarity of their modes of life. The latter of necessity, from the scarcity of animals, camp only in small numbers, while the Indians of the Prairies are invariably to be found in large bodies, the buffalo supplying them with food, clothing, fuel, and all the requirements of their simple mode of life. It is mainly owing to this that the Prairie Indians have a greater facility for mischief than their neighbours, possessing as they do time and means to war upon the adjacent tribes; while, on the other hand, the straitened circumstances of the inhabitants of the woods compel their more especial devotion to the providing for their daily subsistence.

The government among all these tribes is neither rigorous nor well defined, the chiefs exercising great influence in their respective camps, though scarcely able to enforce absolute

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obedience. In fact, the greatest chief, in his daily intercourse with his own people, commands no respect beyond that which all younger Indians pay to their elders. When, however, the tribe sits around the council fire, his opinion has naturally more weight than that of the others Thus, by long established precedent, he determines the time for pitching or striking the tents, and other matters having a general bearing on the economy of the tribe, while he is also usually the wealthiest of his family, and possesses more horses, more wives, a larger tent, and a more gaudy dress.

It is difficult to obtain reliable information respecting the numbers of the Indian population; their migratory habits coupled with the vast extent of country over which they are spread, rendering the task of making a satisfactory census almost impossible.

We have, however, made a list of the numbers in the different tribes of Indians we met with on the Prairies (excluding those of Red River Settlement and Pembina), together with a conjectural addition of some that we did not actually come across. We have, also, given a rough estimate of the remainder of the population of the Saskatchewan country and of the Indians that live in the Rocky Mountains. It is probably well known that the officers of the Hudson's Bay Company have registered the number of the different tribes who resort to their posts for purposes of barter, but their reports, taken without correction, only afford a vague and exaggerated estimate of the Indian population with whom they have dealings; for, as the same bands (following in the footsteps of the buffalo) trade at the different ports at different seasons of the year, it comes to pass that the same Indians are constantly counted over and over again. According to a document presented to the "Select Committee of the House of Commons on the Hudson's Bay Company," the number of Indians in British North America is given at 147,000; of these 80,000 are to the west of the Rocky Mountains, 3,000 border on Canada, and the remaining 64,000 constitute the Indian population of the Hudson's Bay Company's territories. These numbers, however, considerably exceed those of the Indian tribes now dwelling in these districts.

Disregarding the Salteaux or Chippeways, of the district from Lake Superior to Red River on the one hand, and from the lake and wood country as far west as Forts Ellice and Carlton on the other; a tribe of whom the expedition saw little or nothing, we shall notice first, in the plain country, the Cree Indians, both from their greater number and also from their being on more intimate relations with the traders

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than any other of the tribes in the Saskatchewan Prairies. This nation (which is closely allied to the above-mentioned Salteaux) is divided into two great groups, the Muskego or Swampy Crees, and the Saskatchewan Crees. The former inhabit the country from Hudson's Bay to Lake Winnipeg, living during the summer on the lakes and rivers, and in the winter hunting moose and reindeer in the morasses covering this tract of country. It is to this that they owe their name of Swampy Crees. They do not use any horses for transport; but travel by canoes in summer, and in winter with dogs, or on snow shoes.

1. *Thickwood Crees* of the Saskatchewan district, for so they are termed by the traders, inhabit a belt of country to the west of Lake Winnipeg, stretching along the northern border of the Saskatchewan country, as far west as longitude 113°. They are most numerous in the vicinity of Fort Pelly and Fort à la Corne, but they also trade at Forts Ellice, Carlton, Pitt, and Edmonton.

They travel about in small parties, using horses and dogs for transport; in summer, both of these animals carry their loads on their backs, but in winter, the dogs drag a long light sleigh over the snow. These Indians have regular tracks cut through the woods, wide enough to allow a pack-horse to pass. During the open weather, they live by the chace of the Moose deer, Carriboo or thickwood Reindeer, the Wapiti, small deer and bears; but in winter, they are compelled to depend chiefly on rabbits, which are very abundant in some parts of the country. Though occasionally in autumn they make short excursions to the plains for buffalo, when the herds come close to the edge of the woods, they often suffer great privation during their long winters, as they are then confined to the dense woods, and are employed in trapping the marten, minx, fisher, and other fur-bearing animals.

To secure these animals they construct rude fall traps of a few short poles, enclosing a space in which the bait is so adjusted that on the animal tugging at it a heavily weighted log falls on its head. As a rule these Indians are hardworking and docile, and in manner silent and self-possessed. They are extremely hospitable, though it is seldom they have more than the barest necessities of life. They trade their furs and dressed deer-skins for ammunition, tobacco, and clothing; and but few of them care to waste the fruit of their hard toil on liquor. Those, however, who are nearest to Red River, form an exception to this statement, as the freetraders from that settlement have caused the introduction of ardent spirits among them.

The Thickwood Crees are simple in their dress, and seem to

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have none of those noisy and gaudy superstitious ceremonies to which those that dwell in the plains are so partial. They offer a most likely field for missionary enterprise, and advancement in civilization; and there would probably be little difficulty, under proper management, in inducing them to cultivate plots of land from which they might derive a more sure supply of food when trapping furs. North of Fort Pitt, there are a few families who have adopted this plan, independently of any mssionary station, at which, as might be expected, the first step is always, if possible, to establish farming operations.

2. *Prairie Crees.* These have the same appearance and speak the same language as those in the woods, but they differ greatly in disposition and mode of life. They move in companies of from two hundred to four hundred tents, each of which contains one family at least, and often several. The average number of persons to a tent is about six, but the size of the tents varies very much. Their only employment, as is the case, too, with all the Indians of the plains, is the chase of the bison; hence they are constantly moving about as they follow the migration of the herds of these animals.

In the latitude of Fort Ellice they sometimes pitch their tents as far west as the Elbow of the South Saskatchewan, and from that point their country may be bounded by a line carried to the Neutral hills, south of Battle River, and thence on to the Beaver hills and Fort Edmonton. During the summer their favourite camping grounds are along the Qu'appelle River to the Missouri Coteau, which is the border line of the Assineboine and Sioux Indians. They are also found in the Bad and Eagle Hills, between the two branches of the Saskatchewan, and along Battle River to the south of Fort Pitt, or to the south-east of the Beaver Hills. At all these places they are in contact with the country of the Surcees or Blackfeet tribes, with whom they are frequently at war. During the winter, as the buffalo seeks the shelter of the partially wooded zone of country, the Plain Indians tent nearer the North Saskatchewan, or towards the Touchwood Hills and Fort Carlton. In winter these Indians construct "pounds" for capturing the buffalo in great numbers in order to procure their skins for the manufacture of robes for the Hudson's Bay Company.

These pounds are strongly fenced enclosures generally hid in a small bluff of woods; the herd is guided into them by black spots of brushwood, or other substance, laid, in converging lines, for miles over the snow. The frightened animals, not liking to pass these bushes, are constrained to enter the pound by an inclined road, ending in a sudden jump of six or eight feet, so that they are unable to return. A

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picture of one of these pounds may be seen in Franklin's voyage, and in Mr. Hind's recent volume. Mr. Hind has indeed given a circumstantial account of the construction of one of these pounds during summer; but though we were in this country for three years, and at the very place which Mr. Hind describes, we never heard of this practice of the Indians at a period of the year when the snow was off the ground.

The prevalence of this method of hunting among the Prairie Crees is leading to the rapid extinction of their only source of support. The great plains of the North Saskatchewan, which, within the last fifteen years, were every winter teeming with buffalo, have now only a few large bands, numbering, it is true, tens of thousands, but no longer, as of old, to be found all over the country. The large bands, indeed, in which these animals are now met with, are a sure sign of their being over hunted, and the result is already being felt. Thus, in 1857, the buffalo were very plentiful between Edmonton and Fort Pitt, while the Indians and Company's servants alike, at the Mountain House and at Carlton, were starving.

In the following winter the case was exactly reversed, the buffalo having come on this occasion within easy distance of the two latter places; while at the former it was almost impossible to feed the people, and towards spring some of the more aged Indians were starved to death.

The Prairie Crees possess large bands of horses, but of neither the number or the quality of those kept by their neighbours, the Blackfeet. In moving about they use the "travaile," a triangle formed of two poles, each twelve feet long and connected by cross bars, which bear the load, while the apex rests on the horse's neck. For dogs they have an exactly similar contrivance, but on a smaller scale. A travelling party is a curious sight, as the women are perched generally on the horses that have the "travailes" attached, while a long straggling chain of loaded dogs brings up the rear. Their women are very hard worked and seldom have the slightest trace of beauty, their scanty dress being always dirty and untidy. The men, too, are very different from the Thickwood Crees, being idle and dissipated, and much given to gambling, begging, and drinking whenever they can get the liquor. They have little regard for personal finery, and devote themselves to their ceremonies, feasts, and superstitious medicine dances in a listless half earnest manner as compared with that of other Indians. They are, however, intelligent and hospitable, and have less of the barbarian's cunning, trickery and deceit than any of the other Plain Indians. They shew few signs of industry and design in the production of ornaments or imple-

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ments of any kind, and even their skins, buffalo robes, and dried meats are considered inferior to the same articles as prepared by the Blackfeet.

Their language has had a system of syllabic characters adapted to it which the natives learn with great facility both to read and write. It was invented some years since by the Rev. Mr. Evans, a missionary at Norway House, who has printed several small books and parts of the Bible in these characters. The Cree language is the most universal in the country of the eastern plains, and a person conversant with it will always find some one in every tribe that can understand him, even among the Kootanies on the west side of the Rocky Mountains.

The Cree Nation was at one time very numerous, and as they were the first of the Rupert Land Indians to obtain fire-arms, they overran and made a temporary conquest of the greater part of the country, the tradition being that they even crossed the Rocky Mountains and reached the Pacific coast. They are still the most numerous tribe of the Saskatchewan country, and number in all perhaps about 12,500 souls. They are, however, rapidly on the decrease, as the small pox and other diseases annually sweep them off in great numbers.

Rocky Mountain and Thickwood Stoneys.—Almost the only other Indians on the east side of the Rocky Mountains and within the district we are dealing with, who trade solely with the British Fur Company, are known by the name of the Rocky Mountain and Thickwood Stoneys. These are a detached portion of the Assineboine branch of the Sioux or Dacotah tribe, and having been separated a great distance from their kindred, they have naturally been much modified in their character and mode of life.

At one time the Plain Stoneys or Assineboines were a very powerful tribe on the Saskatchewan district, and inhabitants of the country between Carlton and the Missouri Coteau; indeed, even so late as when Franklin first visited that country in 1821, they were the terror of the traders from their daring attacks and plundering propensities. But when the small-pox commenced its ravages among the Aborigines of this part of North America, it seemed to single them out for more severe visitation than any of the other tribes, till at length they were almost extirpated, the northern part of their country being occupied by the less mischievous Crees. They still however dwell in the plains along the boundary line to the south of Fort Ellice, at which post they trade in the winter, as also at the American Mandan Forts on the Missouri; and along this latter river they yet form a numerous tribe. Those in the British territory still preserve their old character of being the greatest

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scamps and horse stealers of the Prairies. The Expedition only met with one small band of them, numbering about 1000 souls, but ascertained that their present haunts were to the west along the boundary line nearly to the Cyprés Hills.

It is to these Assineboines, then, that the Thickwood and Rocky Mountain Stoneys belong; but so great is the difference between them, that were it not for their language being almost identical we should not suspect the relationship on first seeing them. These dwellers, indeed, in the forest, form but a very small tribe of scarcely more than one hundred tents or five hundred souls. They have, without exception, been converted to Christianity, as from their small number and mode of life (which is the same as that of the other Thickwood Indians) they were from the first more easily accessible than any other tribe. Those that live in the Rocky Mountains (who form the largest and best portion of them) were adopted and taught by the Rev. Mr. Randall, a Wesleyan missionary who spent many years at Fort Edmonton, and penetrated into remote parts of the Rocky Mountains, in his well organised and satisfactory endeavours to reclaim these Indians. In fact, although it is nine years since Mr. Randall left them, and though it was the only year of our visit, that they had the attention of his successor Mr. Woolsey, yet we found them still influenced by the good impressions that had been made on their habits and moral character by their first teacher.

Being Thickwood and Mountain Indians, and living in the most precarious manner, they are often in a destitute and wretched condition compared with that of other tribes; yet a visitor to a camp of Rocky Mountain Stoneys will never fail to be at once struck with their quiet and respectful manner, and with their unobtrusive hospitality, in sharing that which can generally be ill spared in their tents. Neither is there any begging or crowding for the purpose of forcing a ruinous trade on the hard up traveller, which is too often a source of great annoyance on entering an Indian camp.

In addition to these good qualities in a camp of these Indians you may leave anything lying about without fear of its being pilfered, unless, indeed, there is a possibility of its being eaten, when it is certain to become a prize to the dogs, and the Stoney dogs exceed all others in their digestive capacity.

The members of the Stoney tribe are hardworkers, as their life is one requiring constant exertion and foresight. They travel in the mountains or in the forests along their eastern base in parties of six or seven families. The young men are always off hunting in search of Moose or other kinds of deer, or of the Rocky Mountain sheep. The old men busy themselves cutting

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out the travelling tracks through the woods, while the women pack and drive the few horses they use for carrying their small supplies.

They generally use skin tents stretched on a conical frame work of poles, but their wigwams are much smaller than those of the Plain Indians. The women dress all the skins of the animals they kill into a soft leather, which, when smoked, is the material used throughout the whole country for making mocassins, most of the fine leather being obtained from the Stoneys. They are excellent hunters, and though as a rule small and feeble in body, are probably capable of more endurance than any other class of Indians. They make trustworthy guides, and, with few exceptions, after some acquaintance with this tribe, you no more expect to be deceived or told lies, as a matter of course, than you would in a community of white men.

In the neighbourhood of the Pigeon Lake Mission they have cultivated small patches of land under the superintendence of Mr. Woolsey, but the want of proper implements is a serious bar to their advancement as gardeners or agriculturists. There is little doubt, however, that the majority of this tribe might easily be induced to quit their wandering life if they had other means of subsistence. The tract of country in the neighbourhood of Mountain House, which forms their present camping ground, and southwards to the Bow Fort, contains land admirably suited to the growth of barley, oats, and all kinds of vegetables, and the natural pasture and winter fodder cannot be surpassed. With these natural advantages no more fruitful field for missionary enterprise could be wished for than among these Indians, who are already disposed to adopt the habits of civilized men. Nor in stating this are we merely re-echoing the opinions of the missionaries, for we have heard the same views expressed by their own chiefs when sitting round their camp fires. Indeed, they pointed out to us a small garden they had made in the neighbourhood of the Bow Fort with rude implements of their own manufacture, having an evident pride in shewing that their land as well as that of the white men could grow turnips, which was their only crop.

Many of the Stoney Indians can read and write in their own language, using the Cree syllabic characters, which are easily adapted to it; and every morning and evening all the members of their camp meet to pray and sing as they were taught by Mr. Randall, though, it must be confessed, that their music is rather uncouth, and bears strong resemblance to their pagan medicine chants. We may add that the Earl of Southesk, who was in this country at the same time as the Expedition, bears

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a similar testimony to the good character of these Stoney Indians, in an address to the Red River settlers.

It may be thought that a tribe, numbering at the most only three hundred or four hundred souls, would afford but a small field for the employment of the missionary, especially when there are so many ever wandering over the plains; but diffuseness of effort will be fatal to any attempts to elevate the condition of the Indian tribes in the Saskatchewan district or elsewhere. The number of converts gives no clue to the effect the teaching has had on the minds of Indians, who though, according to our ideas, ignorant, are often an intelligent, thinking, and in some senses of the word, a polished people.

It would prove far more effectual to concentrate the means of improving the condition of one small well-disposed community like the Mountain Stoneys, the example and advanced condition of which would offer the most powerful means of influencing the other tribes. The establishment of a nucleus formed of an industrial community, consisting almost wholly of pure Indians, would not have the same destructive effect as a colony of white men invariably has on the surrounding and still savage tribes.

The proper field for missionary enterprise should for this reason commence far away from the influence of white settlers, so as to allow time for the gradual elevation in condition of the Indians without their being thrown into an unequal competition that must and has always proved fatal to them. An Indian tribe can never fulfil the relations of a peasant or labouring class to a white community in a recently settled country, as they possess in themselves all the elements of the different grades in society, though at present undeveloped. Indeed the attempt to render them so has always ended in their rapid degradation and final extinction.

Meanwhile, to revert to the condition of these Stoneys, their conversion to Christianity, however flattering to our missionary efforts, and perhaps at first beneficial to them, yet, if unaccompanied by some effort to improve their permanent condition, will really tend only to their extermination; for the diffusion of the doctrines of docility and meekness will only render them more defenceless and less fitted for that struggle for existence which they must maintain till they are supplied with more civilized means of livelihood. If such means are not speedily supplied to them, so that they shall have made some progress towards independence, before the influx of white men, who will inevitably, sooner or later, occupy the fertile country of the North Saskatchewan; these Stoneys along with the Thickwood Crees will share the fate of all other border Indians, a fate

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which, however, a little present expenditure might probably avert.

Are we warranted in looking on these vast territories merely as outlets for our surplus population without considering the claims of the Indians to our aid and protection as British subjects? And are we to regard these natives as we should so many wild beasts, the natural evils of a new country which are in time to be removed in the process of settlement?

Hitherto, while indignantly denying the latter alternative, the policy of the dominant races has invariably produced that result. On the other hand, our opinion, derived from some study of the Indian character, is, that any attempt to reclaim them, when in close proximity to the advancing line of civilization, will be of no avail at all; but that to be permanently improved in their condition they must be aided and governed while yet in their simple and primitive condition, and that therefore it is the duty of government to take the initiative even in the most remote districts, in a work at present left to the feeble and often ill directed efforts of missionary societies.

Where the Hudson's Bay Company have the sole sway over the Indians, they have been very successful in introducing that kind of discipline and government among them which is favourable for the purposes of the fur trade; and though that trade perpetuates the wandering and precarious modes of life, which it should be the first duty of the civiliser to eradicate, the sway of the Hudson's Bay Company, if it has done no other good, has at least shewn that the Indians are capable of being governed. We may add that what we ourselves saw of the Rocky Mountain Stoneys has led to the foregoing remarks, which may however be applied with almost equal force to the Thickwood Crees, and to any other Indians dependent on means of subsistence similarly precarious.

The Thickwood Stoneys are a small branch of the same tribe who inhabit the country to the north-west of Lake St. Anne's and along the Athabasca river. They have been for many years attached to the mission at Lake St. Anne's, and are all nominally Roman Catholics. To what extent they have been improved by their connection with the mission is uncertain, as they were only seen once by some of the Expedition on the Athabasca river; they were then destitute and wretched in the extreme, but notwithstanding very desirous of gambling with what little they possessed, so that on the whole they did not leave a favourable impression upon us.

Slave Indians.—All the remaining tribes which were seen by the Expedition to the east of the Rocky Mountains and the Saskatchewan country are included in one large

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group, called the Slave Indians by the traders and Crees. They all speak the Blackfoot language, and during the summer roam over the great prairies along the South Saskatchewan and Red Deer River, in winter retiring to the north-west, where they tent along the edge of the woods between Rocky Mountain House and Bow Fort. In this group, however, is included a tribe with a distinct language of its own—a branch, indeed, of the great Chippewayan family who inhabit the Athabasca district far to the north of the Saskatchewan, having broken away from their own relatives and changed their habits of life from that of Wood to that of Prairie Indians. This language is guttural and harsh, so that the Blackfeet, though always living with them, are rarely able to learn it, while the Surcees have no difficulty in acquiring, not only the soft flowing Blackfoot tongue, but also that of many other tribes. The mode of life of the Surcees is the same as that of the Blackfeet, but their habits and appearance denote that they are a degraded race. Their constitutions are enfeebled, and, it is a curious fact, that "goître," so rare among other Indians, is almost universal among them. The only other persons in that country who are afflicted with this disease are the half-breeds resident at the Company's forts, who are influenced by depressing causes that enfeeble the constitution without actually producing disease.

The Surcees trade at Fort Edmonton, and as we saw many articles of American manufacture among them, they probably got these from their allies the Blackfeet, as they rarely themselves go so far southward as the Missouri. They generally camp in summer towards the Hand Hills, and in winter near the elbow of Battle River; sometimes joining in one large camp with the Blackfeet, though more generally living apart by themselves.

The Blackfoot Tribes.—These comprehend the Blackfeet, Blood Indians, and Peagans, who all speak the same language and have the same habits of life. They trade chiefly with the Americans, as they share in the subsidies granted according to the Indian treaty, by the United States government, a portion of their territory lying south of the boundary line, as well as to the north within British rule The Blackfeet themselves trade a good deal at the Rocky Mountain House, principally bartering provisions for rum, tobacco, and ammunition; and they all prefer the goods supplied by the Hudson's Bay Company as superior in quality to those from the American forts.

In the summer these Indians form large camps along Red Deer River or Bow River far out into the arid plains, but

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where there is always enough grass in some spots to support their large bands of horses. They are the real Bedouins of the Prairies, having always parties on the move in every direction; making rapid journeys, sometimes to the British, and sometimes to the American posts, for the sake of gathering news concerning other Indians, or of the buffalo. They have large bands of horses, and some of fair quality. Their only food is the buffalo, and most of them will go a long time hungry rather than eat ducks, rabbits, and other small game.

As part of their subsidies, they receive flour, sugar, and coffee; but they care very little for such articles of food, which they say make them sick. Like the Crees, when moving about, they use the "travails"; but their tents are much larger than those of this latter people, it being not uncommon in a Blackfoot camp to see them of forty or fifty buffalo skins sewn together, the more usual size only requiring from twelve to twenty skins. They are always conical, with triangular lappets at the apex for directing the smoke as it escapes. As they travel so much over bare plains, where there is no timber, their tent-poles are made of light dry wood, so that they are easily conveyed by attaching them to a horse with their ends trailing on the ground. The smallest tent requires thirteen poles.

The Blackfoot tribes are fond of fine dresses for themselves, and gay trappings for their horses. Their chiefs have state robes of ermine fur and of otter skins, and their medicine-men have dresses adorned with eagle feathers. The women of this tribe are often comely; and they always dress neatly with ornamented tunics and leggings of cloth or deer-skin, worked with beads and porcupine quills.

They have many mysteries and ceremonious dances, in which they make great use of drums, rattles, and shrill whistles. Their chanting on these occasions is more harmonious than that of the Crees, and they seem to join in these rites with greater sincerity than other Indian tribes. They are of wilder nature and are more treacherous than the Crees, and yet have certain ideas of honour to which they rigidly adhere.

The young men are great horse thieves, but are more under the control of their seniors than is the case with the other Indians. They are constantly at war, either with the Crees, Assineboines, or Crow Indians; horse stealing on one side or the other being generally the cause of all their quarrels.

The Roman Catholic missionary at Lac St. Anne's, M. Le Combe, has made one tour among these Indians, with a view of establishing a mission; but, as we have already remarked, it will be much more difficult to effect any real improvement among these tribes than among those that dwell in the woods.

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Their constant communication with the Americans, their frequent migrations and free mode of life, and their sole dependence for food on the chase of the buffalo, are all against their adopting those habits of industry, without which there can be little real advancement in their condition.

According to their own notions, it would be better for them if we would leave them alone; as their only fear for the future is caused by their perceiving the rapid decrease in the numbers of the buffalo, owing to the active trade forced on them for robes and provisions. Unfortunately, nearly all their trade, at the establishments of the British Fur Company, is for rum, the only luxury they cannot get at the American posts; and their love for this spirit is so strong as to induce them to store up provisions to barter for it. It is only by supplying the Blackfeet with rum that the Hudson's Bay Company can induce them to prepare an excess of provision beyond their immediate wants; and though this, again, tends to ruin the future prospects of the Indians by gradually exterminating the buffalo, it is certain that, without this supply of provisions, the fur trade, as at present prosecuted, could not be carried on. The brigades that at present bring down the furs, and take up the goods for trade to the different sub-Arctic districts, by the tedious *portage-routes*, are supplied with pemmican made from the buffalo of the Saskatchewan country; and there is much reason to doubt whether, as a question of economy, even with the apparently low cost of the provisions thus obtained, it would not be cheaper to draw the required supplies from an agricultural population, by a more civilized style of commerce.

The Blackfoot tribe have never yet suffered much from the small-pox, which has been such a scourge to the other Indians; but at present there is a very obscure form of disease, which commits great ravages among them. It commences with a state of collapse, which attacks the Indian, generally young persons, suddenly, and if not fatal within a few hours, they sink into a low typhoidal state, from which they seldom recover. Their medicine-men use no means to recruit the sufferer's strength, but continue their attempts to cure him by beating drums and shaking rattles over him without intermission, relays of them keeping it up day and night in the case of an important patient; it is needless to say with what result. It is only when the sick Indian happens to be a man of little importance, and his friends are consequently unable to pay the medicine-men, that he has the slightest chance; indeed, the only cases of recovery we heard of were, when we were able to persuade them to keep the poor sufferer clean, and to give him nourishment and simple stimulants.

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In the course of a week we spent in a Blood Indian camp of two hundred families, there were at least twenty or thirty deaths from this disease; and the wailing and lamentations of the relations were almost continually ringing in our ears. One night a chief was stricken down, and the whole camp, which was at the distance of two miles from ours, joined in keeping up the wild and unearthly wailing till daylight.

What will become of these Wild Plain Indians it is not difficult to foresee; but it is to be hoped that their inevitable extermination will not be hastened, as on the western frontiers of the United States, by ruthless warfare. At present they have a most friendly feeling towards the British, by whose representatives, the Hudson's Bay Company, they have been always fairly treated. On the other hand, along the Missouri, within the American frontier, where an active competitive trade has sprung up, the thirst of gain has developed the worst features of the white man's character, and has led the Indians, who are a very observant race, to draw the most unfavourable conclusions with regard to the white man in general.

There cannot be a shadow of a doubt that, if settlers are allowed to push their way into the Saskatchewan country, as has been the case in the Western States, before any form of government has been established which would consider the interest of the Indian subjects of the Queen as well as that of the settlers, it will be almost impossible to preserve this friendly feeling towards the English, and secure the country from acts of incursion and rapine on the settlers, which, if once commenced, must necessarily end in a bloody war of retaliation and extermination against the Indians.

Such wars have ever proved expensive and mischievous, in that they retard the progress of the young settlement, and are, moreover, apt to raise too soon questions of assistance from, and dependence on, the mother country, and so produce jealousies and ill will. For this reason, besides the crying injustice to the Indian possessor of the soil (who, in sharing his land with our surplus population, should at least have the benefit of the same laws as are passed or maintained for the good of the settlers), any measures taken in time to prevent the usual sequence of evils in the first settlement of Indian country, would prove a great saving to ourselves.

The Saskatchewan country is peculiarly favourable for making the attempt to introduce this fairer method of settlement, as it will not yield any sudden source of wealth to tempt an unsettled population, or make any return to mere "cuteness" or unprincipled speculation. Having the advantages and defects of a temperate climate, with a great extent of good

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and varied soil, it is well fitted for colonization by an industrial population, who, by toil and intelligence, will obviate the defects to which the climate is liable, for the sake of the small but solid measure of prosperity they are sure to enjoy in return.

So long as the colonial gold fields hold out their strong allurements to emigrants, it cannot be expected that a field of profit so humble, though probably more lasting, will be chosen by them in preference; and we may therefore be sure that, even if the Saskatchewan country were at once thrown open for settlement, and provision made for its government, there would be ample time for the system to exercise an influence in improving all classes of Indians, before those yet in their primitive state have been reached by the white population—an influence which would affect even the Blackfoot tribes, so far at least as to prepare them for becoming peaceful neighbours.

The Kootanie and Shouswap Indians. The expedition did not see much of these tribes, which are both small and inhabit a limited portion of country. The Kootanie Indians live generally in the wide open valley through which the river of that name flows, when parallel to the Rocky Mountains. They are all Roman Catholics, but no missionary resides among them; those that live at the Cour d'Alleur Lake and Flathead mission stations only making occasional visits among them. They are a fine race of Indians, and seemed to us quite as well disposed as the Rocky Mountain Stoneys. They often make excursions across the Rocky Mountains to hunt buffalo, but, as a rule, tent in the large plains in the valley of the Kootanie river. They have larger bands of horses, in proportion to their numbers, than any other tribe we met with; and these animals, though small in size, are very swift and hardy. This arises, no doubt, from the dry gravel soil of their feeding grounds, and also from their being less frequently used than those belonging to the Plain Indians.

These Indians have several cows and oxen among them; the first of which they procured from a party of Red River emigrants, who crossed the mountains with the late Thomas Sinclair, who was afterwards killed by the Cascade Indians. They make no use of these animals; but they lassoed the cows, when we wanted to milk them, though they did not seem to care to milk them for themselves.

They make a few attempts at agriculture; but these, like those of the Mountain Stoneys and Thickwood Crees, are very imperfect and uncertain. Their principal food is small fruit, such as cherries and the service-berry, which they dry and make into cakes, and also a lichen from a species of pine tree; they also get deer and mountain sheep, and occasionally buffalo, as before mentioned.

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As it is likely the Kootanie country will prove to be auriferous, perhaps in a few years these Indians may be submitted to the hard test of contact with the white man, and this, too, just at a time when his passions are most excited, and when he is least disposed to consider the claims of Indians for lenient, or even just, dealing. It is to be hoped they will then migrate, as they are much superior to the tribes nearer the Pacific coast, and better worth being preserved.

The Shouswap or Carrier Indians occupy the country of the Upper Columbia to the east to Jaspar House, where they sometimes trade, and west across the Watershed to Kainloop's Fort on Thompson's river. They are canoe Indians, and make long journeys over the mountains, carrying heavy loads on their backs. Though small and miserable in appearance, they are wonderfully strong at this work.

With them the dog is used only for hunting, and never as a beast of burden, as with the other tribes. Only a few of them have horses, which they keep at the Columbia lakes, as they have no tracks through the dense woods of the valleys further to the north. Their food is salmon (which ascends the Columbia all the way to its source), the mountain goat, and sheep, and the siffleur or marmot, the flesh of all which they use dried and smoked. They also sometimes get a moose or rein-deer, or a bear; but no large game is plentiful on the western slope of the Rocky Mountains.

The other tribes of Indians seen by the expedition to the west of the Rocky Mountains, were all within the American territory excepting those at Vancouver's Island, to whom it is not necessary to allude in this report.

James Hector, M.D.
W. S. W. Vaux, M.A.

XXI.—*A few Remarks on the Wild Tribes of Tierra del Fuego from Personal Observation.* By W. Parker Snow, F.E.S.

In the year 1855 I was cruising in a very small schooner of only eighty-eight tons about the neighbourhood of Tierra del Fuego and Cape Horn. My particular object was to get acquainted with the natives and try to discover one Jemmy Button who had been brought to England with the most humane intentions by the present Admiral Fitzroy, who had him educated, and finally returned to his own country twenty-three years before my visit. The particulars connected with my attempt would be out of place to relate here. Enough to

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say that they are published; and all I have now to do is to speak of the wild beings I encountered.

Let me say at once that, after a cruise of some weeks, I came away with the most favourable impressions of the Fuegians, *except* where I found Master Jemmy Button, whose tribe had to be carefully watched, and whose people have, since my visit, massacred the captain and crew of the very vessel I then commanded. But the first place I called at and communicated with the natives, was at Picton Island. Here several canoes came alongside, and then my acquaintance with the Fuegians commenced.

The men were fine powerful looking fellows, each in a state of savage nudity; but their wild hair, and dirty and repulsive-looking bodies needed some previous acquaintance with such beings to admit of any near approach.

The women, throughout that and every after interview, behaved in a manner that struck me as being extraordinary in such savages. The modesty of their conduct was very remarkable, and nothing would induce them to come on deck. One of the women was tolerably good looking. She had a baby with her, and there was something most winning in her manner when she asked us to give her child some present. She was much attached to her babe, even as I found all of the Fuegian mothers were, and I feel certain that to attempt taking those younger children away on any pretence whatever is wrong in the extreme.

The men directly they came on deck were clothed by us, but evidently they did not like such confinement of their limbs. One would persist in changing every thing to the exactly contrary way. Another put a blanket round his shoulders instead of his body. Toys, beads — especially necklaces — and gilt ornaments were, as may be supposed, eagerly sought for. They did not like a looking-glass when shewn to them, but the music of a concertina delighted them exceedingly. Strange to say I found all of the Fuegians I met very honest in *barter*, though arrant thieves in regular *stealing*.

The first visit I paid them on shore was by myself to their wigwams at some distance off amongst the trees. I walked towards their dwellings, and was soon seated on a log of wood amidst the whole family, men, women, and children around me. Their ferret-like dogs, however, were very troublesome, but the men seeing how I was annoyed drove them away. Then we began one of those scenes I had often before indulged in when visiting wild lands. I talked, I sang, I laughed and danced with them to their heart's content, for, inviting me to the interior of their wigwam, I was placed at once in a post of

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honour, and free—so far as could be—from the intolerable smoke of their fire.

I may here mention that at no time would they allow any of our party inside their wigwams but myself and wife. Generally an old woman planted herself with some of the men at the door to prevent any strangers from entering.

Inside of this wigwam I found about twenty-two persons squatting round the fire. Some of the women and girls were marked with red and black ochre, and one young woman, who would have been handsome if washed, which they seldom do, looked as if in complete mourning with her face so blackened. All the females wore small girdles, and some had skins on their shoulders and waists.

Their friendly mode of salutation was anything but agreeable. The men came and hugged me, very much like the grip of a bear. I felt as if squeezed in a vice. Neither was it at all agreeable in another way, for the Fuegians are excessively dirty, and contact with them might well cause a man to shudder.

But it was necessary for me to get as good a knowledge of their character as I could. Hence, for myself I had to freely associate with them, and, after all, this is not so difficult as some may imagine.

The actual difference between a savage and a civilized man is simply the degree of cultivation given to the mind. In all other respects the savage at home is identical with the savage abroad. There can be little doubt that a civilized man when wisely at work with the natives of any wild land, can obtain an ascendancy by a prudent exercise of his own mental powers. I generally find that the eye has great effect upon a wild man. At all events, during all my visits to various savage tribes, I have never received any harm from them.

Thus, then, in dealing with the Fuegian, I looked upon and studied him as I would a curious piece of mechanism or a difficult problem. I soon gained a friendly ascendancy with him, and was able to glance at him more closely than I could otherwise do. I saw that he was in many respects similar to the Esquimaux, whom I had seen in the far north. His general appearance is well known, and has been so accurately described in Admiral Fitzroy's work, *The Voyages of the Adventure and Beagle*, that I should be trespassing upon his valuable labours were I to go into minute details. One thing, however, struck me as somewhat different to what I had generally understood. The Fuegian did not seem to me so dwarfish as often represented. One or two that I measured were over five feet three inches, and I believe some reach five feet seven

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inches. I may mention that I had a difficulty in measuring them owing to their constant endeavours to steal the tape out of my hands. Another thing I noticed was that many of the Fuegians on the Eastern Islands were fine and some of them even handsome fellows. This I know to be rather different to what Mr. Darwin says of them; but I can only speak as I found, and thus mention what I myself saw.

My own opinion was that the Fuegian is a creature of circumstances, even more than most wild men are. The wretchedly moist and cold weather, with the high broken land in which he lives, makes him deficient in those bolder and higher qualities to be found amongst savages in more bracing countries. How they live and what they do is much about the same as the Australians. They are cannibals from necessity, but, I believe, not from choice. Their habits are of the most primitive kind, and their dwellings on the eastern part of Tierra del Fuego are the conical wigwam built from branches of trees over a hollowed space of ground. On the west part of Tierra del Fuego their habitations I believe are somewhat different. They reside in families; are, as I have said, very fond of their children; subsist principally upon shell-fish and the edible fungus, a sort of excrescence growing on the birch tree. They are remarkably expert with their slings, and the one I have by me is a good specimen of their ingenuity, as also some other things you will see.

I believe they have a sort of property right amongst them, and I have seen one of the oldest women exercising authority over the rest of her people. Wishing to buy a canoe, it was refused me on the ground that it belonged to her, and she would not part with it.

They have a wizard man amongst them, who also seemed to have some authority. They are loud and furious talkers, and I soon found it was impossible in any ordinary way to get myself listened to. Accordingly, on one particular occasion, when their noise was deafening, I took my speaking trumpet and shouted louder than they. This answered. It made them delighted with my supposed skill, and it shewed them that the white man could be equal to themselves; in fact, it is necessary so to do. In their rude state wild men often fancy themselves our superiors in many things, and to rightly deal with them we must show that we can hunt, fish, sing, talk, dance, and endure hardship as well as they. That the Fuegians must be hardy is evidenced by the fact that they experience so much cold, and yet wear no covering to their bodies. The only thing they do to keep more warm is to rub themselves over with grease and ocherous earth. In their wigwams they

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huddle round the fire; but, owing to the smoke, their eyes are always sore.

One anecdote I will briefly mention. When I was taking a rough sketch of their wigwam and adjoining scenery, several of the men were around me. They seemed to understand and greatly admire the sketch, but they could not comprehend why I took the same trouble with some beautiful flowers and shrubs. They began to pull off the branches and pluck the flowers to give me, as if fancying that, as I could not take away their wigwam and land, I supposed it wrong to carry off anything else. Nor are the Fuegians alone in this feeling. We read of the North American Indians lately objecting to our exploring parties coming upon their new paths, on the plea that it is only to gather and take away their roots and flowers.

But I must pass on to our meeting with Master Jemmy Button, the semicivilized Fuegian. As I have mentioned, this poor fellow was brought to England, and returned to his own country in 1833. Since then no tidings had been heard of him, and it was doubtful if he might be alive.

The place where he had been left was called Woollya, some distance from the sea board, and amidst wild and romantic scenery. The way to it was by a long natural canal called by Captain Fitzroy the Beagle Channel. As the navigation was all but unknown, and the weather exceedingly tempestuous, doubts were entertained of our reaching the locality; but, after the usual adventures of nautical cruising in these regions, we arrived in Jemmy's neighbourhood towards the close of a certain day. As we approached I ordered the British ensign to be hoisted at the main, thinking that if Jemmy was alive he would probably remember it as a friendly signal. It answered; for, as we neared an island not far from Woollya, and as some scores of canoes came paddling towards us, one man not far off hailed us to stay. To my astonishment the call was made in broken English, and by the time our ship was thrown up in the wind, Jemmy Button was alongside asking for a ladder to mount by. But directly he stepped upon deck what a transformation appeared from what I had pictured of him as when in England. The man I saw before me was a rude, shaggy, half repulsive-looking being, and in all respects like his brethren around him. Yet that same poor creature had been the petted idol of friends here at home, had been presented to royalty, and finally sent back to Fuego as a passably finished man! Truly I could not but pause in amazement as I looked upon him, while in broken words of my own tongue he joyfully addressed me. It was marvellously strange that he not only retained some knowledge of the English language, but had

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actually taught a portion of it to his own relations. Unfortunately what they best understood was some of our worst words, though they certainly attached no wrong meaning to what was said.

As to Jemmy himself he was at first so affected as to be hardly capable of calmly addressing me. The sight of various things on board recalled words to his mind, and by degrees he was enabled to ask for what he wanted, and to mention incidents of his wonderful voyage to the white man's land. He would not attempt to go below when I explained that my wife was in the cabin until he had been properly clothed; and, to shew how he remembered things, he asked for braces as correctly as I now use the word. On seeing my wife his eyes moistened with tears, and he said to me, after making an awkward salutation, and in reference to those he had seen in England, "Ah! Inglis ladies vary pretty—vary pretty!" He remembered the names of his former tutor, Dr. Wilson of Walthamstow; of "Capen Fitzroy," of "Bynoe" (Mr. Bynoe, I believe, surgeon of the *Beagle*), and some others. He had two wives—his youngest coming on board and shewing great anxiety lest we were going to take her husband away. Two brothers and an uncle, with a grown-up daughter, also came on board. But I allowed only a few of the natives at a time to be on deck. At night I anchored at a place where, if necessary, I could get away quickly, and after a short stay there, leaving many presents behind me, we took our departure.

Such was the affair of Jemmy Button, the half-civilized Fuegian. Many serious and perhaps instructive lessons might be drawn from his history, and what was done and still is being done regarding his people. But I will only venture to call your attention again to the fact that these savages have a heart and feeling as well as we have. And I saw many instances of warm love and affection for their children, and for each other; therefore it is not right or prudent to take them away. Let us go amongst them if it is necessary to bring them to our way of thinking, but do not let us force or cajole them from their own loved homes.

A few words more. The other evening I had the pleasure of listening to a discussion on some newly-discovered flint implements. Admiral Fitzroy spoke of some in Tierra del Fuego. My own experience gives me no opportunity of saying much upon the subject, beyond this, that I found Jemmy Button's tribe very careful to keep in their possession what he told me was a firestone, and which I supposed to be flint, used for the purpose of getting a light. Also in searching a deserted wigwam I found a flint, which is much like an arrow head.

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Before I close these hurried observations about the wild tribes of the South, I must venture to add a few more words in a general sense. In speaking of these savages, I cannot help saying that I do not consider them so degraded as many persons do. I look from effect to cause, and thus trace their present condition to the nature of circumstances.

Wherever I have gone it has been a pleasure for me to narrowly observe my fellow man; and I find that nowhere has the Creator made anything for naught, nor for any single isolated purpose. Every man is linked with his brother, and every human creature with something above and beneath him. Thus I believe that the Australians are not a race peculiar to themselves; nor are the Fuegians. With regard to these latter, their similarity to the Esquimaux has been noticed by other Arctic Voyagers, as, for instance, Captain Moore, the Governor of the Falkland Islands. But how they came there is difficult to say, except by being driven southwards.

It is strange that a narrow strait, such as that of Magellan, should be the only division between two classes of men so different as the Patagonian and the Fuegian. This, however, would warrant the inference that the latter had been driven over it into the broken land of Tierra del Fuego.

In glancing at the natives of distant lands I have found much to make me have confidence in their power to become whatsoever the various changes of the day may require. The Esquimaux are really an intelligent race. So, to a certain extent, are the Australians, and, as to the Fuegians, it was found that Jemmy Button, and especially a girl called Fugia Basket, also brought to England by Captain Fitzroy, were quite capable of intellectual improvement. The warlike, noble Maori has been my sailor companion at sea; and even the sable African have I lived with on board a captured slaver. Hence, in calling to mind the various classes of human beings I have encountered, I cannot but think of them all as more deserving our respect and goodwill than generally considered. Perhaps a love of nature, and a worshipping of nature upwards to its fountain head, leads me to this conclusion. When I speak of the inhabitants of distant lands as I do, it is because I have never received aught but kindness at their hands. This, then, leads me to utter with peculiar pleasure, the words of Coleridge, with which I now conclude:—

> "He prayeth best, who loveth best
> All things, both great and small;
> For the dear God, who loveth us,
> He made and loveth all."

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XXII.—*On the Aryan or Indo-Germanic Theory.* By JOHN CRAWFURD, Esq., President; Foreign Associate of the Anthropological Society of Paris.

A THEORY which had its origin in Germany, and which has since had a wide acceptance among the learned in other parts of Europe, makes all the nations and tribes, from the eastern limits of Bengal to the western shores of Europe, to be of one and the same race of mankind, the only material exceptions being the Arabs, Jews, and other people speaking cognate languages. It is founded on a supposed essential conformity of language among the diverse people whom it embraces, without regard to physical form or intellectual capacity. I entertain great doubts of the soundness of the theory in question, and propose in this paper to state my objections to it.

The theory, in its ripest state, is most fully described by the learned and ingenious Orientalist, Professor Max Muller, and from his recent work I shall endeavour to give a sketch of it. The term Aryan is derived from Aryana, the supposed parent country of the people who spoke the Sanskrit language, and this itself is said to be derived from the root Ar, which signifies to "plough or till," implying that the nation was an agricultural one. Two branches of this people, at a time far beyond all history or even tradition, are imagined to have migrated, the one south-east, to civilize, and in a great measure even to people, Hindustan; and the other north-west, to perform the same services for Europe and the countries of Western Asia. Before these migrations, the theory asserts that there were no Hindus in India, and no Greeks, Italians, Germans, Sclavonians, or Celts in Europe. Before the invasion of Aryans, India and Europe the hypothesis supposes to have been peopled by savages or barbarians, such as we find at present in the mountainous regions of Hindustan. The original language of the people supposed to have played so great a part over so large a portion of the globe has been preserved in India only, where it has been immemorially a dead tongue, telling even less of the history of the people who spoke it than does an Egyptian mummy of the history of ancient Egypt.

Now of this strange history the Sanskrit language, although containing abundant ancient written records, tells us nothing. The very word Sanskrit itself is a factitious one, and not, as in almost every other case, whether with Oriental or European nations, ancient as well as modern, derived from the name of the people who spoke it, or of the country in which it was spoken. It simply signifies "adorned, completed, perfect," a definition obviously showing that the word is the more recent

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creation of grammarians. Its writings make no reference to the parent country of the people of whom it was the living tongue. On the contrary, the names of heroes, gods, and places are confined to Hindustan, and more especially to the north-western portion of it.

The derivation both of the word Sanskrit and Aryana is, I suspect, amenable to the charge which Niebuhr makes against similar Greek and Roman etymologies. "Names of countries," says he, "were always formed in antiquity, as by the Germans afterwards from the name of the people." "Nor is it to be explained, except from that unspeakable spirit of absurdity which always came over the most sagacious Greeks and Romans the moment they meddled with etymology, how any one could stumble on the notion of interpreting a name out of itself."

Notwithstanding the total absence of all reliable evidence of the parent country of the people, of whom the Sanskrit was the mother tongue, the great probability is that they came from the north-west — the regions which we know, from authentic history, has always supplied the conquerors of India. A fairer people than the natives of India, and intermixing with the latter, they, as the smaller element, became in time absorbed and undistinguishable from it. Such a result is inevitable, and what has really taken place everywhere. The Turkish conquerors of India are at present hardly distinguishable from the Hindus, and the Arabic blood is not distinguishable in the Persians or the people of Southern Spain.

We discover, however, from the most ancient of the Sanskrit writings, certain hymns, that, for some time after the arrival of the strangers, or speakers of the Sanskrit in India, their social condition was wholly different from what it is known to have been within the period of authentic history, and from what it is at the present day; and hence we infer that the Hindu religion, with its castes and other singularities, was formed in Northern India, from which, with various modifications, it was disseminated east as far as China, and south as far as Ceylon and the remotest islands of the Indian Ocean, its influence constantly diminishing as we recede from the parent country of Hinduism, the upper valleys of the Ganges, the Jumna, and the five rivers which ultimately become the Indus. It is in the region thus described that the Hindu institutions are still the most complete, and, it may be added, that Hinduism, with all its attributes, has, in reality, never extended beyond Hindustan and the genuine Hindu race of man.

A crowd of objections against the Aryan theory must, I think, occur to any impartial inquirer, and I will enumerate a few of them. The very name of the people implies that they were

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agricultural, which is equivalent to a home-keeping nation. This, indeed, as it implies some civilization, they ought to have been, if they were the instruments by which the rude people of the lands they invaded were civilized. They are, however, said to have been nomadic, or wandering, which, indeed, would be indispensable to enable one branch of them to have migrated eastward as far as Bengal, and another north and west, to the shores of Spain and Britain. The alternative is, that if they were an agricultural people they would not have undertaken distant migrations, and, if roving shepherds, they would themselves be barbarians, and would not have civilized the tribes they conquered.

A palpable objection to the theory consists in its comprehending a great variety of different races of man, differing from each other in physical form and in intellectual capacity. Some are black, like the majority of pure Hindus; some brown, like the Persians and Turks; and some very fair, like the Scandinavians. Some are of weakly frame, as the numerous people who speak the language of Bengal; while others are, in comparison, robust, like the people of Europe—the last exceeding the first in mere bulk, weight, and physical strength, to say nothing of superior mental endowment. Some, like many of the people of Europe, are in rapid progress of improvement, and, within the historical period, have advanced from the savage state to the highest civilization; whilst others, like all the Hindus and the nations of Central and Western Asia, after making a certain precocious advance, continue afterwards nearly stationary, making less advance in one thousand years time than the people of Europe in one hundred. Some races, not apparently more favoured by geographical or local position, are so superior to others in bodily strength and mental endowment, that a mere handful of them suffices to hold in subjection many millions of others, which the theory supposes to be of one and the same blood with themselves. Thus it is that we ourselves have, within a century's time, subdued to our rule not only the Hindus, but the descendants of those who had subdued the Hindus.

Now, as far as authentic history carries us, no physical change has taken place in any race of man such as the theory supposes to have happened. In no time that we know of, have black, or even swarthy men grown white, or white men grown black or swarthy. So long as the race is pure and unmixed, it continues unaltered. The descendants of the Spaniards, who migrated to America 350 years ago, do not differ in physical form from their brethren of the present day of Arragon and Andalusia. The millions of negroes now existing in the

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same country, for almost as long a time, are not to be distinguished in form from the people of the African nations from whom they sprang.

But language, although often of great value in tracing the history and migration of nations, is very far indeed from being always an infallible test of race, for many races have lost their original tongues and adopted those of opposite races. Hebrew, for example, has, for above two thousand years, ceased to be the spoken language of the Jews. In their own country they once spoke Greek, and they now speak Arabic. Some two thousand years ago three distinct native idioms were spoken in France, exclusive of such as may have been spoken in that portion of it, which, at the time, had been conquered by the Romans. With the exception of two small relics, these have been supplanted by a tongue of Italian origin. Nearly the same revolution has taken place over the whole Iberian Peninsula. In our own islands, with two exceptions, a language of Teutonic origin has superseded the Celtic tongues, which were spoken fourteen centuries back. In America, the millions of Africans who have been transported to it within the brief period of three centuries have lost all their native tongues, while languages, some of German and some of Italian origin have been substituted for them. In Italy, before the Roman conquests at least, half-a-dozen native languages were spoken, but in the course of time one of these came to supplant all the rest.

The assumption of the Aryan theory that India was without Hindus—that is, that it was without other inhabitants than a few barbarous mountaineers, whose descendants still exist—seems sufficiently refuted by the broad, undeniable fact that the civilized natives of its southern portion speak distinct languages, which are now well known not to be of Sanskrit origin, and into the composition of which Sanskrit enters only in the same manner in which Arabic enters into Persian, Turkish, and Spanish; Persian into the languages of India, and Latin into the Celtic tongues.

Mr. Caldwell, the learned author of the *Dravidian Comparative Grammar*, a believer in the Aryan theory, comes to the following conclusion on this subject:—"The evidence is not only decidedly opposed to the supposition that the Dravidian languages are derived from the Sanskrit, but is equally inconsistent with the supposition of the connexion of those languages with the family to which the Sanskrit belongs, either as a member of the family, or even as a remote offshoot." Of the Southern languages, here called collectively Dravidian, there are no fewer than nine, four of them cultivated tongues, written

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in at least three distinct alphabets, all of which differ from the character in which Sanskrit is usually written. The author of the *Grammar* estimates the people speaking them, and who in physical form and mental endowment differ no more—hardly, indeed, so much—from the Hindus of the north than Spaniards and Italians do from Germans and Russians, at 32,000,000. This numerous population, then, must be at once struck off from the numbers imagined to speak the supposed Aryan languages.

While there is this exception to the East, we have at least one in Europe, the Basque, spoken by an European people, and which the careful examination of Baron William Humboldt has pronounced to have no affinity in words or structure with the Sanskrit or any other dead or living language of Europe or of Asia.

The theory which would make similarity of language equivalent to identity of race is founded on a supposed correspondence of words and grammatical structure. If the object in view be to prove that all the languages of the world are derived from one parent tongue, it cannot, of course, apply to monosyllabic tongues, for in these there are no tangible points for examination, and therefore there are excluded from its operation the languages of half the inhabitants of the globe. Neither can it apply to the many tongues of the red man of America, for in these the grammatical structure is essentially the same while the words totally differ. This is the more striking, since the race of man is the same nearly throughout the whole continent.

M. Bopp, the highest authority among the advocates of the Aryan theory, describes the process by which the inquiry is conducted.

"The relations of the ancient Indian languages to their European kindred," says he, "are, in fact, so palpable as to be obvious to every one who casts a glance at them, even from a distance." This apparent facility is, however, forthwith contradicted by an assurance that the subject "is so concealed, so deeply implicated in the most secret passages of the organization of a language, that we are compelled to consider every other tongue subjected to a comparison with it, as also the language itself, from new stations of observation, and to employ the highest powers of grammatical science and method in order to recognise and illustrate the original unity of the different grammars." The investigation, then, instead of being an easy and obvious one, turns out to be one of great difficulty, demanding the exercise of much ingenuity, and, as a consequence, amenable to much speculation, conjecture, and uncertainty.

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The chief means resorted to for tracing the supposed derivative languages to Sanskrit as their source, consists in the well-ascertained principle of the commutations of sounds. Such commutations, as applicable to languages generally, are most frequent in consonants of the same organic class, as one labial or one nasal for another labial or another nasal, or in the substitution of a broad for a slender vowel, or the converse. The actual changes, however, are by no means confined to such sounds; for there is hardly one consonant or vowel in the wide range of languages which, in the transfer of the words of one language into another, has not been exchanged, so that a skilful manipulator has a very wide field indeed for the exercise of his fancy and ingenuity. The changes which, in practice, words have actually undergone in their transfer from one language to another, appear to me to be so great, and even so capricious, that it is utterly impossible to bring them under any general rule. Such alterations are, indeed, frequently so complete, that the derived word can only be traced to its source by the identity of its meaning, and by the ascertained history of the language to which it belongs.

A few examples may be given in illustration. The Latin words, filius a son, folium a leaf, and ferrum iron, become, in Italian, figlio, foglio, and ferro; in French, fils, feuille, and fer; and in Spanish, hijo, hoja, and hierro, the pronunciation in all these cases being still more remote from the original words than the orthography. In these instances the derivative words bear more or less resemblance to their originals, but abundant examples occur where, although the etymology be undoubted, there is hardly any resemblance in form. Of this the Spanish affords some very striking examples. Thus, aguja, a needle, comes from acus; andar, to go or walk, from ambulare; azor, to be agitated, from turbare; baño, a bath, from balneum; boda, marriage, from votum, a vow; dedo, a finger, from digitus; echar, to throw or cast, from jactare; Enero, January, from Januarius; engaño, fraud, from ingenium; hambre, hunger, from fames; hembra, a female, from fœmina; llave, a key, from clavis; niño, an infant, from minimus; oir, to hear, from audire; ojo, the eye, from oculus; sed, thirst, from sitis; sieste, a siesta, from sexta hora; sobaco, the arm-pit, from sub brachium; uña, a nail, from unguis; yegua, a mare, from equa; yoma, a bud, from gemma; and cumbre, top or summit, from culmen.

When it happens that an original and a derivative language are of opposite phonetic character, to trace the one to the other would be wholly impossible without an historic clue. Thus, the Spanish words, alcalde, a justice of peace, comes from

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the Arabic article al, and kazi, or kalli, a judge; alcurnia and alcuña, family, race, from al kurandah; aldea, a hamlet, from al dah; carça, a briar, from khar; tia, an aunt, from shu; and cid, a commander, from sagăd.

The Malayan and Polynesian languages, from the poverty of their phonetic character, afford very striking examples. Thus, the Arabic făkăr, to think, becomes in Malay pikir, and in the languages of Celebes pikiri. In the languages last named the Arabic words măsjid, a mosque; sâlam, a salutation; bărkăt, a blessing; kărtas, paper, wăkt, time; become respectively, masigi, sälöng, baraka, karotasa, and wötoe. So wide, indeed, is the difference between the phonetic character of these Celebes languages even from that of the neighbouring Malayan tongues, that words of the latter introduced into them are often hardly recognizable, except through the identity of their meanings. As examples, the word rampas, to plunder, becomes rapai; bintang, a star, bitöeng; ribut, a storm, riwuk; bulan, the moon, ulöeng.

The corruption increases in magnitude as the languages diverge from each other in pronunciation, and the most signal examples of this that I know of are to be found in the corruptions of our own language, which have in recent times found their way into the dialects of Polynesia. In these we find such extravagant travesties as hipa for sheep, pifa, from beef, for the ox; laiki for rice, pöora for powder, palora for bread, and palao for potato.

"The dictionary of vulgar tongues," it is truly observed by a judicious Spanish writer on etymology, "has not been the work of the meditative reflection of learning. In its formation the rustic population has had the largest share, and, on this account, we ought not to wonder that at every step we find marks of rusticity and gross ignorance, and this more especially in regard to words having their origin in dark and barbarous ages." When, therefore, we consider the rude process by which languages have been formed, and the vast variety which exists in the utterance of the different races of man, it is obvious that, without collateral aids, little or no reliance can be placed on mere literal analogies.

The advocates of the Aryan theory generally confine the comparison of words to those which express the most frequent and familiar ideas. Dr. Prichard refers to this branch of the inquiry. "I allude," says he, "particularly to such terms as denote the most familiar objects and relations, for which no tribe of people is without expressive terms. When such relations as those of father, mother, brother and sister are expressed by really cognate words, an affinity between the several languages in which

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these analogies are found is strongly indicated. The same remark may be made in respect to the names of visible bodies and the elements of nature, such as moon, air, sky, water, earth. Lastly, the inference is confirmed by finding many of the verbal roots of most frequent occurrence, as the verb substantive, and those which express generation, birth, living, dying, knowing, seeing, hearing, and the like, to be common to all these languages."

My own experience of the few languages to which my inquiries have extended, leads me to a conclusion the very reverse of that arrived at by the framers of the Aryan theory; and I am satisfied that the words which a rude nation borrows from a more civilized one with which it holds intercourse, are naturally and necessarily those expressing the most familiar ideas. I am convinced that this is generally the source of that agreement in words, when it is genuine and not fanciful, on which the theory of a common language and a common race has been founded. Prichard gives a list of about sixty-five words of familiar use, and it is from this small number that he deduces a community of language and race between Celts and Hindus. I shall enumerate a few of those and examine their pretensions to be considered valid evidence of identity. Here are a few of them: father, mother, brother, sister, man, woman, moon, cloud, earth, sea, dry land, lake, wax, honey, night, day, horse, cow, name.

Now in all these cases the words in the Celtic tongues are most clearly derived directly from the Latin language, while their introduction belongs to times tolerably well ascertained, those in which foreign missionaries whose language was Latin introduced Christianity among the rude Britons. In the Celtic tongues they are found, of course, in a mutilated and disfigured form, and with those transmutations of letters which ever take place when the words of a language of one phonetic character and grammatical structure are transfused into another of opposite character. The terms quoted by Dr. Prichard are, moreover, for the most part only synonymes of native words. Thus, in the Erse or Irish, there is, besides the corrupted Latin words, a native one for man, earth, dry land, moon, horse, cow, and several others. Thus man has the word fear, which is, without doubt, a corruption of the Latin vir, but it has also the native word duine, moon has luan the Latin luna, and also the native words, gealach and re. Di, day, no doubt comes from the Latin dies, die, but it has also the native term, l'a. In respect to these two last words, it should be noticed that the native are the current words, and that the Latin ones are only used in the formation of the days of the week, as in the example Diluan, Mon-

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day or dies lunæ. Bo, a cow, from the Latin bos, bove, has the native word mart. The horse has two terms from the Latin, each from equus, and capull from caballus, but it has, also, the native name, marc. For the sea, there are no fewer than eleven names, of which two are Latin, muir from mare, and abbeis from abyssus. The remaining nine are native words, of which cuin, fairge, and lear are of most frequent use.

Many of the Latin words introduced in comparatively recent times, into the Celtic tongues, however disfigured in adoption, are genuine, and, in opposition to the Aryan theory, are such as express the most familiar ideas of rude and early men. The following are a few of them, man, woman, body, corpse, heart, sky, cloud, bank, sand, dry land, sea, ground, daylight, night, honey, wax, mountain, life, nest, sod, false, true, full, broad. We infer only from the existence of these foreign words, that the Celts had native words for the same ideas, which the exotic ones displaced.

There are two words generally placed in the front rank of the evidence brought forward in favour of the Aryan theory. These are father and mother, terms which ought for obvious natural and inevitable reasons to be excluded, since in every tongue they are at least in their early rudimental forms, essentially the same. In their earliest stage they are always monosyllables containing a labial for a consonant, and the simplest breathing for a vowel, the consonants being m, p, b, or f, and the vowel a. This arises from the perfection of the infant's lips, for the purpose of nutrition indispensable to its life, while the action of the ordinary muscles of voluntary motion, connected with functions that are not indispensable, remain long nearly dormant.

But I turn for illustration to languages to which I have myself given special attention. The Hindus had introduced their religion into the Malayan islands, and Sanskrit was the medium through which the introduction was effected. The most cultivated of the insular languages contain a considerable portion of it, and this with very slender corruptions, and not in the very dubious form in which it is attempted to trace words of the languages of ancient and modern Europe to a dead language of Central Asia or India. Many of these Sanskrit words express the most familiar ideas of man; and, although they generally appear along with native terms, are often of more frequent use than the latter, in some cases indeed even superseding them altogether. I need hardly add, although I am aware that we are threatened with an attempt to prove the reverse, that there is nothing of these languages, or in the race of man that speaks them, analogous to the supposed Aryan languages, or the races imagined to speak them.

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The Malayan tongues contain at least ten times as many genuine Sanskrit words as Dr. Prichard, by strained etymologies, fancies he discovers in the Celtic.

In the proper Malay language, for example, we find the following Sanskrit words expressing familiar ideas, being at the same time of more frequent use than their native synonymes—head, shoulder, limb, hair or pile, face, brother, family or kindred, joint or articulation, earth or land, cloud, day, sea, pool or pond, same or equal, complete or perfect, glad, sorry, still or silent, to speak, to deliberate, to ponder or reflect, to spoil or destroy, to forget, all, only, merely, speedily.

In Javanese we find most of the Sanskrit words found in Malay, with a good many besides, such as throat, hand, son, daughter, man, woman, sun, moon, dog, hog, and buffalo. In the language of the Island of Bali, the Sanskrit term, Surya, for the sun, has displaced the native word; and the Sanskrit numeral for ten, done the same thing with the usual decimal of the Malayan languages.

Malayan words have found their way into what has been called the Polynesian language, or most widely spread tongue of the islands of the Pacific, a language differing wholly in structure and phonetic character from the Malayan tongues. Their number, in all, does not exceed 100, yet in these few are found words expressing the most familiar ideas, such as face, heart, ear, breasts, finger or toe, earth or soil, water, stone, hill, sea, bird, feather, hair, louse, leaf, root, flower, fruit, wood, board or plank, adze, road or path, fire, fear, to drink, to die, to dig, to skip or dance, to plant, to roast, to strike, to cry, to bury, to shoot or sprout, to pull out or extract.

Malayan words are found in the languages of the Philippine Islands, which, in sound and grammar, differ widely from the Malayan tongues, and among these, generally corrupted in form and frequently even modified in sense, there are many which express the most familiar ideas. The following are examples: heart, tongue, nose, rib, offspring, flower, fruit, tree, sea, smell or odour, quiet or repose, true, false, thin, scarce, wanting or defective, to speak, to scratch, to drink, to change, to stop, to grow.

The language of the island of Madagascar, an African tongue, differs entirely, in sound and grammar, from the Malayan languages, but contains an infusion of these, not indeed a considerable one, and yet among them are found several expressing the most familiar ideas, such as, heart, eye, lips, blood, bone, nose, hair, sinew, tongue, eye-lids, hand, child, offspring, corpse, land, water, wave or billow, tempest, sky, rock or stone, island, promontory, tree, seed, thorn, bird, crow, heron, feather,

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leech, fly, hot, wet, soft, thin, slender, raw, salt, sour, white, red, bald, to cast or fling, to choose, to hit, to beg, to peel, to rub, to wound, to die, to kill, to change, to contain, to forbid, to catch, to plant, to drag, to pound or bray. Independent of these there are all the Malayan numerals.

In the languages of Southern India, in which, as already stated, the Sanskrit is but a foreign element, there are to be found words of the most familiar use of the latter tongue. Thus in the Tamil, that of the four cultivated languages which has received the smallest access of Sanskrit, we have such words as the following, independent of many synonymes for native words, namely: mein or countenance, air, water, fish, flower or blossom, milk, share or portion, white, small, to strike, to kill, to speak, to pass, to get or obtain.

But even our own language, although its Latin element be of comparatively modern introduction, contains words of Norman-French, expressing primitive ideas far more numerous than any one has pretended to find of Sanskrit over all the ancient and modern languages of Europe. No doubt the greater number of these strangers are but synonymes of native words, but that also is the case in general in languages in which genuine Sanskrit words exist, but there are others which have actually displaced the Teutonic words or rendered them almost obsolete. The following are a few examples: face, stomach, palate, gullet, gorge, entrails, arm, palm, sole, nape, temples, spine, flank, joint, articulation, tendon, veins, uncle, aunt, nephew, niece, cousin german, grand parent, masculine, feminine, corpse, squirrel, coney, partridge, plover, heron, eagle, falcon, salmon, trout, turbot, mackerel, herring, ray, gurnet, johndory, serpent, viper, flower, fruit, grain, mountain, valley, cave, cavern, glebe, bank, rock, isle, island, ocean, deluge, lake, river, air, tempest, echo, long, round, silent, calm, mute, vacant, just, jealous, environs, to pass, to place, to taste, to touch, to move, to stir, to alter, to change, to exchange, to carry, to close, to enter, to cover, to remember, to recollect, to turn, to tremble.

To this list other words may be added, not perhaps so indispensable, but which still even the rudest language is not without, such as war, battle, quarrel, pain, pleasure, joy, danger, peril, chance, fortune. Some of the words of the list I have given are no doubt equally of Teutonic origin with the Saxon ones of our language, but this does not militate against the fact of the direct channel through which they have come to us, being Norman-French.

In the list of words of French origin which I have given, I may remark that there are the names of familiar animals which, as far as we know, have been denizens of our land and water

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from the creation. We can in some cases even assign the cause—the superior civilization of the conquerors which operated to their displacing the Teutonic names. The cow, the calf, the hog, and the sheep, used for food have French names, while the living animals preserve their Saxon ones. The horse and dog, not used for food have their Saxon names only. But in this, as in all similar cases, it is certain that accident and caprice have had a large share.

Words expressing very primitive ideas may be introduced into a language from a foreign tongue even when that tongue is in phonetic character and grammatical structure totally different from the vernacular language on which they have been engrafted. Arabic words have in this manner been introduced into the languages of the Spanish Peninsula, the result of eight centuries conquest and intercommunication. Thus, we find in Spanish and Portuguese, such words as the following from the Arabic, namely: family, boy, aunt, lad or youth, bachelor, cave or den, island, channel of a river, pool or pond, thistle, briar, acorn, hog, wild boar, duck or goose, crab (cancer), storm, red, sour, plain or smooth, free not enslaved, mad, solid, rude or rustic, such-a-one, until. No doubt the greater number of these are mere synonymes of words of Latin origin. But there are others which have wholly displaced the Latin words. Thus, the Arabic word for oil in Spanish, "aceite," has wholly displaced the Latin one which is found in Italian, in French, and even in English. Yet, the olive must have been cultivated in Spain long before the Arabian conquests, and the Arabs, of whose country it is not a native, could not have been the parties who introduced it.

The abundant illustrations now produced will, I think, be quite sufficient to disprove the assertion that an agreement between words expressing simple ideas, even when it is genuine and not forced and factitious, is no evidence of a common language, even were a common language itself sufficient evidence of a common race, which it frequently is not.

Dr. Prichard, following the example of previous advocates of the Aryan theory, by an ingenious and dexterous manipulation of the letters of the alphabet, on the principle of the commutation of sounds, one which knows no bounds, makes the Latin words introduced into the Celtic tongues, within the historic period, and by a well-ascertained channel, to have come originally from Sanskrit. Thus he makes the Erse fear, man, to come from the Sanskrit Virah, and not from the Latin vir; luan, the moon, to come from the Sanskrit masa, month, and not from the Latin luna; neul, a cloud, from the Sanskrit nabha, and not from the Latin nebula; di, day, from the Sans-

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krit dhu, and not from the Latin dies, die; nockd, night, from the Sanskrit nisa, and not from the Latin nox; each, a horse, from the Sanskrit aswak, and not from the Latin equus; bó, a cow, from the Sanskrit go, and not from the Latin bos; athar, air, from the Sanskrit ashra, and not from the Latin aer.

It may be considered a strong corroboration, if indeed any corroboration were needed, of the words expressing simple ideas found in the Celtic tongues having been directly introduced, in comparatively modern times, that they are accompanied by others showing such social advancement as a rude people would naturally receive from intercommunication with a more civilized one. In the Erse or Irish, for example, we have such terms as the following: iron, tin, copper, silver, gold, flax, hemp, rye, barley, plough, plough-share, wheel, mill, arrow, lance, sword, mail, arms, week, month, money, the names of the days of the weeks, with the numerals up to a thousand; and the last of these, exactly in the same manner as the numerals of the more civilized Malays have been adopted by the people of Madagascar and the South-Sea Islands.

With respect to the numerals, they certainly have the appearance of a common origin from Bengal to Spain and Britain. They must, we may conjecture, have been the invention of a people who had made a considerable social progress, but who that people was it is wholly impossible to determine, and it is remarkable that the same uncertainty exists with respect to the Malayan numerals, which prevail from Easter Island to Madagascar, and from the Sandwich to New Zealand Islands. It is not to be forgotten, however, that the numerals which wear the appearance of a common origin in what have been called the Indo-European languages, by no means extend to the languages of the South of India, which, with few exceptions, have their own distinct and peculiar ones. In these languages, in fact, the invention had been anticipated, as it had in the Malayan tongues, among which we find Sanskrit numerals only in the Javanese, in which they are few in number and belong to the recondite dialect.

The special channel through which Latin words have reached the Celtic tongues is clearly enough indicated by such words as the following: God, religion, creed, soul, spirit, abbey, abbot, and the like.

The view now taken of the manner in which Latin words have entered the Celtic tongues is illustrated by the manner in which the corresponding class of words have entered the Malayan languages. The principal Malayan nations were, however, probably more advanced in civilization when they were converted to Hinduism than the Celtic when converted to Christianity; and hence, in their tongues, the Sanskrit words

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are more frequently synonymes than the Latin ones are in the Celtic. The following words of Sanskrit in the Malayan tongues are examples, and I take them chiefly from the Javanese, the language of the most advanced people. Gold, copper, mercury, cotton, silk, black pepper, nutmeg, camphor, war, enemy, fortress, bow, arrow, time, age, life, era, sun, moon, month, day, year, date, letter of the alphabet, numeral figure, writing, epistle, king, queen, prince, princess, counsellor, noble, town, village, god, goddess, brahmin, spiritual guide, adoration, penance, heaven, hell, torments, divine, absorption, religion, goblin, astrology, spell or incantation. Among these there are synonymes for war, enemy, time, sun, moon, month, year, king, queen, prince, princess, god, and goddess.

Many of the Sanskrit words just quoted as affording evidence of a common language, and hence of a common race, from Bengal to Spain, but which are really so remote from their supposed common source, that the utmost liberty in the commutation of letters cannot reconcile us to the belief that they are the same, are yet to be found in the Malayan languages with very little variation as to sound or sense, so that here there can be no mistake about their real origin. Thus, we have putra and sunu, a son; pati, lord or master; nara, wira and manusya, man; danta, a tooth; naka, a toe or finger nail; hasta, the hand; daksina, the right hand; pada, the foot; tara, a star; prawata, a mountain; mega, a cloud; gâni (for aghnï), fire.

Instead of such accord with the language from which they are supposed to be derived, as is exhibited in these examples, the alleged Sanskrit words in the languages of Europe are so remote from it, that the semblance is often reduced to an agreement in one or two letters only. Jani, a woman in Sanskrit, is thus supposed to be the same with the Gothic quino and the Erse bean; akshi, the eye, to be the source from which has sprung the Latin oculus: from danta, a tooth, is supposed to have the Latin dens, dente, the Gothic thunto, and the Erse dend, the last a word which I cannot find in any dictionary. From nakha, a nail or claw, correctly given in the Malayan languages, the aspirate only omitted, is supposed to be derived the Latin unguis, the German nagel, and the Gothic ango, the Celtic languages having no word resembling it. From the Sanskrit arsu, a tear, is made to come the Latin lacrima or lacryma, the Gothic tagr, and the Erse deur. From dakshina, the right hand, and also the south, is believed to come the Latin dexter, and the Erse deas, which, as in Sanskrit, means also the right hand. Nothing could be more natural than this twofold meaning of the word in both tongues. The framers of the Sanskrit and of the Celtic languages, in dividing the horizon into quarters, both of them looked to the rising sun, and, of

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course, had the south to their right hand, a natural explanation which supersedes the necessity of a forced etymology. From the Sanskrit word, pada, the foot, correctly given in the Malayan languages, is supposed to be derived the Latin pes, pede, the German fuss, the English foot, and the Erse cas or cos. It is possible that this last word, which has nothing in common with its alleged Sanskrit parent but the vowel a, may be a corruption of the Latin pes, and this is the more probable since the Erse has what seems a native synonyme for the foot, the word troidh.

It is reasonably to be objected to the words selected by the advocates of the Aryan theory, that they consist often of a single synonyme out of the many which exist in Sanskrit. Thus, heli is one word out of a score, for the sun, and from this is supposed to come the Latin sol and the Gothic suil, the German, the English, and the Erse having no term in the least resembling it. The far more frequent words for the sun in Sanskrit, surya and rawi, are unnoticed. For the moon they give the word masa, which signifies also a month, and from this is supposed to come the Latin mensis, and the Erse mios, the far more frequent Sanskrit words, chandra and soma, being taken no notice of. The Erse word in this case usually pronounced mis, I have no doubt comes direct from the Latin mensis, but I have just as little doubt that the latter does not come from the Sanskrit masa.

Much stress has been laid on the supposed derivation of European words from Sanskrit verbal roots; but the process by which this is brought about appears to me to be little better than an ingenious etymological juggle, by which any result we please can be obtained if the words compared bear any similitude to each other. A few samples of the mode of procedure in such cases will, I think, tend to corroborate this view of it. In Sanskrit the verbal root of the verb to generate is jan, and from this we have the Latin genere, the English kin or kindred, and the Erse gin, to beget. From the Sanskrit root mri, is supposed to come the Latin moriri, because its first syllable is mor, the German mord, and the Erse adjective, marbh "dead." In this last language, for the verb "to die," there are no fewer than four different synonymes, not one of which bears the remotest resemblance to the Sanskrit root mri. The root of the Sanskrit verb "to live" is jio, and from this the Latin vivere, and the Erse beo, which, however, signifies alive, or quick, and not the verb "to live," are supposed to be derived. The root of the Sanskrit verb "to know" is vid, and from this is supposed to come the Latin videre, to see, and also to discern, the English words wit and wise, and the Erse fios, which, however, properly signifies "information," the words for the verb "to

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know," namely, tuig, bearing no resemblance whatever either to this word or to the Sanskrit root vid. The Sansktit root for the verb "to hear" is sru, and hence we have the Latin verb clueo, to be named or called, and the Erse cluas, the ear. The Sanskrit root for the verb to put or place is stha, and of this are imagined to come the Latin sto, to stand and to be placed, and the Erse suidhich, which signifies to settle or appoint, as well as to place or plant, there being no fewer than four words totally different from it for the verb to put or place. Sad is the Sanskrit root of the verb "to sit," and from this is made to come the Latin sedeo, and the Erse suidh. Keri is the Sanskrit root of the verb "to make," and from it comes the Latin creo, and the Erse ceard, which Dr. Prichard interprets workman, but which properly signifies a smith, or worker in metals, the verb "to make" being expressed by three different words in no way like the Sanskrit root. The root of the verb "to breathe" in Sanskrit is an, and from this comes, according to Prichard, the Latin anima, air and breath, and the Erse anim, soul or spirit, the theological origin of which I have already pointed out, while the verb to breathe and the noun breath are anail, evidently a distinct word.

In the efforts made to trace the languages of Europe to the Sanskrit, it cannot be shown that there is a general agreement throughout in their fundamental terms, as there certainly ought to have been, and such as really does exist in them, in words derived from a Latin and Teutonic source. On the contrary, the words are selected from the different languages when there is a semblance of likeness and omitted when there is none.

Although I must consider the evidence brought forward to prove that the languages of Europe are derived from the Sanskrit, as valueless, still there are some languages of Central Asia which have undoubtedly received a large infusion of it. These are the ancient Zend, the Pelhvi, and the Deri, with the modern Persian in so far as it is not intermixed with Arabic. This would be an argument in favour of the theory, otherwise very probable, which places the nation that had Sanskrit for its mother tongue, not in India, but in a country north-west of it. Even the Slavonic languages would seem to have received some fundamental words of Sanskrit, which the proximity of the nations speaking them, to the probable ancient seat of the people speaking Sanskrit would make very likely. Even the Greek itself, and through it the Latin, may have received a few words of Sanskrit through the languages of the Persians who conquered and long occupied Asiatic Greece. It is not to be forgotten, too, that within the period of authentic history, the very country which is now believed to be the parent one of the

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Sanskrit, is the same which has poured out the hordes which have extended their conquests, and sometimes their settlements over Western Asia and Eastern Europe. It seems also not unreasonable to believe, that the same people may have been acting the same part in the long dark night which preceded even the dawn of tradition.

That languages were once spoken in India itself derived from the Sanskrit, as Italian, French and Spanish, are from Latin, there can be no doubt. One example of it at least exists in the Pali, preserved still, like the Sanskrit itself as the language of a particular form of religion, although this generally is more beyond the bounds of Hindustan, than in that country itself. Judging by analogy, the people, whoever they were, of whom the Pali was the living tongue, must have been conquered and their country occupied by those who spoke Sanskrit, for centuries of occupation would have been necessary to break down the complex Sanskrit to the more simple Pali. Of all this we have no other record than mere written language, and the wonder is that we have even so much.

It has long appeared to me that the class of words which afford the true test of languages being of the same origin, does not consist of words expressing the most familiar ideas, but of such as constitute the articulations, as it were of a language, and without which it can be neither spoken nor written. These consist of the prepositions, the auxiliary verbs and conjunctions. In all the languages, for example, derived from the Latin, these words are taken from that language, while in our own tongue they are of Teutonic origin. When any two languages can be spoken or written in words of the same origin, although a sentence may not be grammatical, they may be pronounced, however intermixed with foreign words, to be of the same parentage. Thus, Italian and French can be written without a word of the Teutonic tongues, with which they both abound, and Spanish without any of the many Gothic and Arabic words which it contains. Even in the absence of all record of the manner in which these languages were formed, we should be at no loss in pronouncing Latin to be the parent of Italian, French, and Spanish. In the same way our own tongue, although it be reckoned that one sixth part of it consists of Norman-French, can be written grammatically without a word of that language, and exclusively in Saxon words, while to write a single sentence in Norman-French words is impossible. Hence, even in the absence of all record of the conquest, we could be at no loss in pronouncing English to be derived, not from Latin, but from German. It is needless to add that by the test now described no European language can be traced to Sanskrit or to any of its derivatives.

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In all the written languages of the Malayan Archipelago, some of which contain a very considerable infusion of Sanskrit as well as of Arabic, there is no difficulty whatever in writing, and especially in speaking them without the help of either of these two tongues. But perhaps the best illustration is to be found in the languages of Continental India. As already stated the languages of the southern portion of that country are essentially different from the Sanskrit, which forms but an extrinsic element in them. All of them can be written, and especially spoken, with less or more ease, without the use of words of that tongue in proportion as they contain more or less of it. The Telugu, computed to be the speech of 14,000,000 of people, contains a large proportion of Sanskrit—according to Campbell's Dictionary a full third part,—cannot easily be written, except by the employment of Sanskrit words, as is the case with our own language, without the assistance of French words. On the contrary, the Tamil, the language of 10,000,000 of people, contains but a small proportion of Sanskrit words, and can consequently be written with facility without their help. Indeed, the language of the people, in this case, contains very few Sanskrit words. These are facts which I state on the authority of the learned author of the Dravidian Comparative Grammar, Mr. Caldwell.

Of the class of words to which I have referred as affording the best test of the source of a language, the advocates of the Aryan theory have hardly adduced any. The substantive verb is the only auxiliary that I can discover. Its roots in Sanskrit are bhu and as, and from these, in Latin, we are supposed to have fu and es, and in Erse bu and is. This is the nearest approach that I can discover, but it is a solitary case, and the resemblance of sound may be, and I have no doubt is, purely accidental, and such as might easily be paralleled in languages which have confessedly no relation whatever to each other. I may give two examples. The preposition de is a Latin word to be found also in all the languages derived from Latin. The same preposition, with the same meaning, is to be found in all the Malayan languages. In Greek and Latin the numeral two, duo, is, with corruptions. the same from Bengal to Britain. In the Malay it is nearly the same, dua, and with various corruptions, it is found in every tongue from Madagascar to the remotest island of the Pacific. Its close resemblance, however, to the European word is, I am satisfied, purely accidental, for it is the only one of the native Malayan numerals that bears the least resemblance to the European numerals.

From the facts I have adduced in the course of this paper I must come to the conclusion that the theory which makes all the languages of Europe and Asia, from Bengal to the British

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Islands, however different in appearance, to have sprung from the same stock, and hence, all the people speaking them, black, swarthy, and fair, to be of one and the same race of man, is utterly groundless, and the mere dream of very learned men, and perhaps even more imaginative than learned. I can by no means, then, agree with a very learned professor of Oxford, that the same blood ran in the veins of the soldiers of Alexander and of Clive as in those of the Hindus whom, at the interval of two-and-twenty ages, they both scattered with the same facility. I am not prepared, like him, to believe that an English jury, unless it were a packed one of learned Orientalists, with the ingenious professor himself for its foreman, would, "after examining the hoary documents of language," admit "the claim of a common descent between Hindu, Greek, and Teuton," for that would amount to allowing that there was no difference in the faculties of the people that produced Homer and Shakespear, and those that have produced nothing better than the authors of the Mahabarat and Ramayana; no difference between the home-keeping Hindus, who never made a foreign conquest of any kind, and the nations who discovered, conquered, and peopled a new world.

XXII. — *Some Particulars of the General Characteristics, Astronomy, and Mythology of the Tribes in the Central Part of Victoria, Southern Australia.* By W. E. STANBRIDGE, F.E.S., of Wombat, Victoria.

As so little appears generally known of the aborigines of Australia, and, as they have the reputation of being lowest in the scale of mankind, occupying a country so far removed from, and possessing so little in common with, other countries, it may not be inappropriate at the present time, when so much inquiry is directed to the origin of species, to lay before you some particulars of their character, habits, and ideas, from observations made during a residence of eighteen years in the wilds of Victoria, Southern Australia.

The aborigines of Victoria are associated in tribes or families, the members of which vary very much in number. Generally several tribes are united for mutual purposes under one head or chief, which office appears to be hereditary. The affairs of each tribe are managed by the old men and doctors or priests. The father or husband has uncontrolled power in his own family, even over the life of his wife. The people are very thinly scattered over the country; but each tribe has its own

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boundaries, which are conterminous with those of other tribes, and the land so included has been from time immemorial parcelled out amongst its families and transmitted by direct descent to the present generation. Females inherit as well as males, but as the former frequently marry into distant tribes, their right is of but little benefit to them. This absence, however, does not impair the claim of their descendants. So much are these boundaries respected, that the member of one family does not go into the lands of his neighbour unless previously invited, hence the difficulty of inducing a native to remain at a station that is not on his own patrimony.

Unlike the aborigines of Tasmania, whose colour is black, with black woolly hair, those of Victoria have complexions of various shades of dark olive brown, and in some instances so light that a tinge of red is perceptible in the cheeks of the young, with slightly curly black hair, but there are isolated cases of woolly hair amongst the men and dark brown hair amongst the women. This difference in the colour of the skin is very marked in the half-breeds, the Tasmanian being of the black or negro hue, while the Australian is of a brown or gipsy tinge.

They are straight limbed, square shouldered, slightly but compactly made; occasionally an individual of herculean proportions is met with. There are none amongst them who are deformed, except those who have become so by accident. The men vary in stature from five, to, in a few cases, upwards of six feet. They have thick beards, high cheek bones, rather large black eyes, protruding eyebrows which make the forehead appear to recede more than it really does, as high foreheads are not uncommon amongst them; thickish noses, which are sometimes straight and sometimes curved upwards, very large mouths and teeth; the size of the latter and the squareness of the jaw are probably caused by continually tearing food with the teeth, as young children have not that squareness of jaw, neither have boys who have lived almost entirely with white people. Their mode of whistling, which consists in drawing the lower lip with the finger and thumb tightly on one side, has its influence, no doubt, on the size of the lips. The men of the Coorong, who subsist almost wholly upon fish, have much smaller mouths and thinner lips, their eyebrows also are not so heavy. In appearance they much resemble the New Zealanders.

There is a ceremony when boys arrive at puberty previous to taking rank with the men, at which, in some tribes, a doctor knocks out one of the upper front teeth, in other tribes both of the upper front teeth; again, there are tribes in which the

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mouth is left entire. The women vary in height from four feet ten inches to five feet seven inches, and in personal appearance resemble the men. They have generally small hands and feet, and the usual ornament of their sex, long hair. Both sexes frequently have a row of little ribs or fleshy swellings, about two inches long across the back and breast, produced with a sharp piece of flint, and sometimes tattooings on the breast, back, and upper part of the arms, all of which is generally executed in early life by the mother; but there are aspirants to this kind of beauty in later life. The females further adorn themselves, by wearing in the cartilage of the nose a reed, or a small polished bone of the kangaroo, but the ornament most prized is made of the two upper front teeth of the same animal, or of the wallaby, by binding them together at the roots, so as to form a V; these are worn in a necklace or suspended amongst the hair.

Polygamy is customary, but the extent to which it is exercised depends less upon the will of the man than upon the respect or good feeling entertained towards him by those who have the power of betrothing; some men think one wife sufficient, but two wives seem the usually coveted number; in some instances men have three and four wives.

If females arrive at maturity unbetrothed, they are wooed and solicited of the father if he be living; otherwise of the brother, but if he be dead of the uncle; if he also has passed to the world of spirits, then of the council or chief of the tribe.

But females are generally betrothed in early infancy, either to soliciting friends, or to those with whom the father is desirous of cementing a friendship; but they remain with their parents until they arrive at a marriageable age, of which the father is the judge. The father has frequently to be solicited several times before he will bestow the daughter thus engaged, but the bridegroom is sure of obtaining his bride, as the honour both of the family and of the tribe is considered to be involved in the fulfilment of the betrothal.

If the wife desert her husband for a more favoured lover, it is incumbent on her family to chastise the guilty pair; the woman is usually speared by her father or brother, and if the punishment is not attended with fatal effects, she is returned to her lawful spouse. The man has either to submit to a certain number of spears being thrown at him, in which case he is allowed a small shield to protect himself, or to fight a single combat with one of her relatives, or with a selected member of the tribe.

The following will, perhaps, serve as an illustration of this custom. The persons for the object named had retired early in

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the morning to a little dell in a vast undulating grassy plain, surrounded in the distance by conical hills, some wooded and some bare. Not many paces from the lowest part of the dell bursts forth a limpid spring, in a deep little basin encircled with high rushes, which give it the appearance of a huge nest, the reeds and rushes marking its course as it trickles away down a valley at right angles with the dell. On one side of this dell and nearest to the spring at the foot of it, lies a young woman, about seventeen years of age, sobbing, and partly supported by her mother, in the midst of wailing, weeping women; she has been twice speared in the right breast with a jagged hand spear by her brother, and is supposed to be dying. A few paces higher up the valley is a group of men; the aged men are seated, and the others surrounding the brother, who is armed with leeowil and mulka, and who is about twenty-eight years old, and of a powerful frame. In the middle of the dell opposite the group of men stands the other guilty one, a young man about twenty-three years of age, a model of agility. He is armed with the same weapons as his adversary, and awaits his impetuous onset. A little in his rear, on the other side of the dell, some young men, his friends, stand armed, and ready to assist if injustice be attempted. Unless the fight be with hand spears it is very seldom that either of the combatants is killed. The leeowil is a wooden battle axe, the usual implement used in hand to hand encounters; the mulka is a strong piece of wood used as a shield.

After a man dies, if his widows have no children, when the days of mourning are over, the custom appears to be to offer them as wives, first, to his brothers, and then to his first cousins; but if they have children it is optional on their part whether they marry again.

These people are cannibals of the lowest description. New born babes are killed by their parents, and eaten by them and their children. When such revolting occurrences take place the previously born child is unable to walk, and the opinion is, that by its eating as much as possible of the roasted infant, it will possess the strength of both.

The mother-in-law or gnalwinkurrk does not, under any circumstances, allow her gnalwin or son-in-law to see her; if he be near she hides herself, and if she requires to go beyond where he is she makes a circuit to avoid him, at the same time thoroughly screening herself with her cloak. Dr. McKenna, the consul at Melbourne for the Argentine Confederation, states that the same curious custom is practised by the aborigines of that republic on the banks of the river Plate.

Opossum skins, sewed together with kangaroo or emu sinews,

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form the rugs with which both sexes are usually clothed: various devices in regular patterns are scraped with a shell upon the skins to make them supple, and they are coloured red or yellow according to taste. Wallaby and small kangaroo skins are used for the same purposes. The men wear the rug secured over the shoulder by a peg, which leaves the right arm at liberty. Women wear it as a cloak, the string of the net or basket worn at the back keeps it in its place, and there can be formed when required a hood for carrying an infant.

A good opossum rug contains about sixty skins, but old women and children frequently have little more than sufficient to cover their backs. Excepting the girdle or small apron of suspended strings, twisted from bark, which is always worn by females until maturity; young persons otherwise almost discard clothing in warm weather.

Children generally have two names, one derived from their birthplace, the other from some characteristic in later life; for example, a boy was born under a woorack (Banksia), he was, therefore, named Yab-woorack, or leaf of the woorack; in after life, from the length of his legs, he was called Dittenaranarry.

In summer, bathing is much practised, but there is no attempt to cleanse the person. The ordinary mode of refreshing the face is to rub upon it a little grease, which is then wiped off, and the face decorated with raddle; this, with some grease upon the hair, and the latter drawn under a band round the head, completes that part of the toilet.

It is the business of the female to construct the lodge, which is usually a screen formed of boughs and grass, placed in a crescent form, and supported by a rude framework, which is kept in a slanting position by a prop; the back is placed to windward and the fire is made sufficiently in front to enable the occupants to lie between it and the screen. When in the vicinity of large trees, in wet weather, the men strip sheets of bark to be used instead of boughs, these generally require the application of heat to prevent them cracking while being opened flat; for this purpose they are placed over a small fire, the smoke of which gives a film of black to the sap side, and upon this, not unfrequently, they make rude drawings of men in corroboree, of kangaroo or emu hunts, or of men fighting.

In the neighbourhood of Mount Gambier some of the lodges or oolahs are very pretty, being dome-shaped, and constructed of boughs closely interwoven, with a small arched opening for the entrance, and a little aperture in the crown for the escape of the smoke. To throw down a lodge, although it may have been abandoned for months, is a very great insult, and a proof of a desire to destroy the family to whom it belonged.

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It is also the female's province to clear away the grass within the lodge, lest it should take fire, to collect firewood and make the fire, which is always very small, so that it may not attract the attention of an enemy. When travelling they always carry fire, that is, a piece of lighted bark. She fetches water if it be near in a bowl-shapen excrescence of some tree; but if far away, it is carried in a small skin taken off the animal through the opening of the neck; either the feet and tail are left on, or the openings are secured by a sinew. She also gathers any edible roots or succulent vegetables that grow in the neighbourhood. The fleshy roots in general use are called cooloor, palilla and munya; the two first, species of geranium, are of an acrid flavour until roasted, the last is sweet, and frequently eaten uncooked; the roots of the bulrush and another aquatic plant are also occasionally used for food. The succulent vegetables in general use are the young tops of the munya, the sow-thistle, and several kinds of fig-marigold.

At Mount Gambier the females collect large quantities of the roots of the fern, which are eaten when baked, as well as the pretty green and gold frogs, and a very fleshy mushroom, which is red on the upper and green on the under side; these are brought home strung on rushes. Our mushroom is very rarely used. In spring they gather cakes of wattle (mimosa) gum, and use it dissolved in water. The implement with which these roots are gathered, and which is constantly carried by the women for offensive and defensive purposes, is a small pole, seven or eight feet long, straightened and hardened by fire, flattened and pointed at the end.

The men hunt sometimes alone, but generally in company. If opossums or squirrels are the game, the motcha is in constant requisition for cutting notches in the bark of the trees, for the reception of the ball of the great toe, to enable the hunter to climb to the holes where the opossums seclude themselves during the day. If the little protuberance caused by the wood grub meet the eye of the hunter, the motcha will assist him to that which will at once help to appease his appetite and recruit his energy. The result of the day's sport will be from five to fourteen opossums.

The motcha is an oblong flattened piece of black stone, like lava, sharpened at the end, and fixed in a strip of wattle; the wattle is bent round the stone and the two ends tied together for the handle; the stone is made fast with a cement of gum and ground shells.

If the object of the chase be the kangaroo or emu, the weapons are some light spears, with the wummera to throw them; and if the country be very open, a shield of green boughs fas-

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tened upon a pointed stake is necessary to enable the hunter to stalk his game. If there be none in sight, tracks are searched for; the grass slightly pressed down, a broken twig, or a little scratch upon the earth, invisible to the uninitiated, is sufficient to enable him to follow until the game is found.

Should the chase result in securing a kangaroo, and if on opening it there be found a caul, the latter will be greedily eaten by the huntsman, as it is supposed to possess the virtue of imparting skill; but an emu would be preferred, as its flesh is highly prized, and its fat is used for greasing their faces, hair, and weapons. Young persons are cautioned against eating emu's flesh, as it produces evil consequences to them.

A skilful spearman will strike his object with tolerable force and accuracy at a distance of fifty or eighty yards; but this proficiency cannot be general, as the feat of having killed two or three emus in early life attaches to the individual a characteristic name, which is not, however, common amongst them.

The light spear is about nine feet long, and is either a reed having at the end a pointed piece of hard wood, about two feet long, secured to the reed by cement and a binding of sinews, or a thin sapling scraped to the required size with a shell, straightened and hardened by being passed through hot ashes, with a piece of the flower-stem of the grass-tree for the butt. In summer the spears are barbed for about eight inches, at the points, with small sharp pieces of flint fixed in cement.

The wummera is a wooden instrument, upon the making of which great care is bestowed; it is about thirty inches long, with a hook at one end to fix into the butt of the spear; it acts as a sling, giving force and precision to its flight: quivering the spear and poising it with the wummera are the first steps in the spearman's art. Some boomerangs or waddies are also generally carried, to be thrown at any other animals that may be met with. The waddie is a stick of heavy wood slightly bent, and pointed at the ends.

That curious weapon, the boomerang, varies much in size; on the Darling it is about three feet long, whereas on the Murray, and to the south of that river, it is not more than twenty inches in length. When used in hunting it is, like the waddie, thrown directly at the object. If used in fighting, it is made to trundle along the ground like a hoop, either straight to the object, or on a curve. When thrown as a feat of skill, it is made to bowl along the ground for about forty yards, when the rapid vertical revolutions become horizontal, which cause it to ascent perpendicularly fifty or sixty feet. When the projecting force is nearly exhausted, it seems for a short time stationary in the air, excepting the rapid horizontal rotatory motion,

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which suddenly ceasing, the boomerang swoops down from its height towards the thrower, and frequently passes over his head.

In order to catch wombats, which are seldom seen by day, the hunter has to examine the tracks to decide which is the burrow occupied; when he has done so, and determined upon its course, he digs a round perpendicular hole, sometimes to the depth of ten feet, so as to intercept the burrow a few feet from its end, and rarely fails in securing the game. Pigeon and quail are caught with a noose at the end of a very long thin rod. Ducks are taken, sometimes in considerable numbers, by suspending a net of large meshes, about twenty feet long and four feet wide, across the narrow part of a lagoon, secured on each side to trees, a little below the usual height of flight; when all is ready a man puts up the ducks, which fly along the lagoon as they usually do. When they approach the net, men who are posted in the branches above throw waddies at them, which so confuse the ducks that they dart down and some become entangled in the net, when the ends are loosened and the game secured. Nets are generally made of the fibres of the inner bark of the mesmate (eucalyptus) twisted into a thread, and knotted into meshes suitable to the various purposes required.

A great many eggs and fledglings of the numerous waterfowl are taken by the aid of the canoe; this is a sheet of bark stripped from a slightly bent gum-tree, which gives such a degree of convexity that the body of the canoe can be immersed a few inches without the ends coming to the level of the water; the inner side is fired to make it tough, and there is a stick placed across at each end to keep it open. A large one is about twelve feet long and two feet and a half wide, and will carry four persons. The canoe is much used for spearing fish in shallow water, and for driving them into a net stretched across a lagoon.

On the Murray the fisherman at night makes a fire on the front of his canoe, and lets it drift down the stream; the fish being attracted by the light, he strikes them with a double-pointed spear. It is a favourite feat on the Murray to dive into the river spear in hand, and come up with a fish upon it; but the children in the neighbourhood of that river appear able to swim as soon as they can walk. The females swim in the same manner as dogs, by forcing down the limbs; the men by throwing one arm forward. In those parts of the country where the streams are small, the people cannot swim. Great quantities of fish are caught on the Murray by placing nets in the little streams formed by the overflowing and receding of the river.

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On small streams, weirs of stakes and twigs are made for the flooding water to pass through, and a conical sack or basket made of rushes, about eight feet deep and three feet wide at the mouth, is placed in the middle of the stream to catch small fish.

The nests of the loan abound with eggs, at the same time that the pityecol, or native peach, and the fruit of the sandal-wood are ripe; the fruit of the last named tree, and the bark of its young roots, are roasted before eaten. All these are most abundant in parts of the country far removed from permanent water, therefore the hunter has to draw his supply of that element from the roots of the swamp-box and weir-mallee, which run a few inches below the surface of the earth; sometimes five pints of this water, which is very good, are taken from one root.

Loan nests are generally twelve feet across, and about three feet above the surface of the ground. At the commencement of winter the loans open out the old nest, and during the winter scratch into it all the leaves and twigs that are within twenty yards; at the end of the wet season they cover them with about two feet of earth; a space of eighteen inches in diameter in the centre, and about the same distance from the top, is the true nest, where the eggs are deposited on their ends, side by side in a circle, the usual number of eggs being about twelve. During the laying season the nest is left slightly hollow in the middle, which leads into it any rain that falls, thereby retarding the fermentation of the vegetable matter until the laying is finished, when the nest is heaped into a conical shape. The parent birds watch the nest to repair any damage that it may sustain during incubation, but do not assist the young ones to escape from it. Many of the nests must have been occupied for generations, as but few deserted ones are found.

When the hunter is a little rested after returning to his lodge, he proceeds to cook his game, an operation in which he takes great pride. If the game be small, the hot embers with a few green leaves scattered over them will afford means; if small fish, green grass is substituted for the leaves, and a few minutes suffice for cooking them to perfection. But if the game be large, an old cooking place or oven is resorted to, fire is made in a little hollow, and some of the pieces of baked clay which are lying about are placed upon it. When these are sufficiently heated, the hollow is cleared of the embers, and a little grass or a few leaves are strewed over it, upon which the game is laid. More leaves or grass with the hot pieces of clay and embers are placed upon it, and the whole is covered with earth. These cooking places or ovens are generally on the banks of rivers or lagoons, and are numerous throughout the

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country; some of them, where fuel is very scarce, are about twenty yards across and five feet high, which, at their apparent rate of increase of size, must have been many centuries in accumulating.

After a day of successful hunting, the evening is devoted to a very rude description of concert; men and women sing, the former accompanying themselves with the clashing of two pieces of hard wood, about eight inches long, held lightly between the fingers, and the women by beating upon a tightly folded opossum rug—a rude substitute for a drum. The sharp clash of the wood, softened by the drumming, accompanied by a wild air, make a monotonous, but as they keep excellent time a not uninteresting music, when heard at a little distance in the stillness of night. The following day is employed in preparing skins, or making spears, boomerangs, nets, or whatever the individual or his part of the country excels in, for their own use, or for presents or barter at the next corroboree; the females busy themselves in making net-bags or net-bands, which are worn around the head by both sexes, or rush baskets, which are strong and neatly finished, or mats for collecting leerp, a little scale-like manna which exudes from, and adheres to, the leaf of the young mallee; this is sometimes gathered in considerable quantities, and is drunk dissolved in water.

Corroborees take place generally about the period of the new moon, and last three days or nights, messengers being sent to the neighbouring tribes to arrange the time and place of meeting, and also to those at a greater distance, perhaps sixty miles, to invite them to come. A messenger goes on his mission with as great an air of importance as though a people's destiny depended on the result; a hand-spear, a wummera, and a tomahawk forming his equipments. Previous to assembly, great efforts are made to prepare articles for presents or exchange, and to collect food, as it is not probable that sufficient game will be found on the spot to support so many persons. As the people come near the rendezvous, they send up columns of smoke to give notice of their approach.

In the meeting of strangers great reserve is displayed by the men: the contrary is, however, the case with the females, they speak together at once, although in a subdued tone. The men at first rather avoid than look at or speak to each other, and it is not until they have been seated near together some time that one in a very low voice makes of the other some kind inquiry; then by degrees mutual inquiries break down the barrier of reserve, until one invites the other to sit at his fire, when conversation is unrestrained.

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Friendly tribes arrange their lodges together, but each in its own group; those that are less friendly group their lodges a little distance apart. Common safety seems to dictate this arrangement, as suspicion of intended injury is constantly on the alert; a word sometimes causes the whole camp to be in commotion, and fire-brands to fly about in all directions.

On the first night strangers are invited to witness a display of skill in dancing by the tribes of the neighbourhood. A large fire being made, the spectators are arranged on one side of it, and on their left a group of females is seated to sing and drum upon opossum rugs to the time of the conductor, an old man, who chants and beats time with two hard pieces of wood in the manner previously described; he walks to and fro between the drummers and dancers, at first doing so very slowly, but gradually increasing in speed until he attains the utmost quickness. The dancers are attired with a girdle, a bunch of opossum-skin thongs being suspended before and behind, and are painted according to taste, with a paste of calcined talc, some in wavy lines, others in spots, to mark every bone, and to appear like an animated skeleton, is a favourite mode. Usually they have a boomerang in each hand, which they clash in excellent time, in certain parts of the chant: sometimes the small pieces of hard wood are substituted for the boomerangs, at others a bunch of twigs with leaves, and a similar bunch fastened round each ankle. The dancers emerge from out the gloom of night in compact array, and with a great whirring noise made with the mouth, the grotesque white painting showing clearly as they approach the fire by a shuffling movement. When sufficiently within the light they continue this movement slightly sideways, adding a jerk which throws out the knees and makes the whole person quiver. In the different stages of the dance they change the position of the boomerangs, which are held a little over the head, and occasionally clash them to the chant. When the first rank has advanced to its proper position, a second rank shoots out sideways from behind, then a third rank, all with the same step and whirring noise, to the time of the conductor. Then some females come forward and join on at the ends of the line of men, dancing with a step like that made in running. They do not sing, and are arrayed in a girdle of suspended emu feathers, and a necklace of kangaroo teeth, with a little chinkey chinkey, or raddle, to relieve their complexions. When the conductor has raised the dance to its utmost speed, they finish with a great whirring, and the dancers retire into night's gloom. This is repeated until the evening's entertainment is finished. On the following night the compliment is returned, the resi-

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dents being invited by the visitors to an exhibition of their ability, probably a slight variation from the previous evening's display. On the third night, residents and guests show their good feeling towards each other by all dancing together, with the females and old men for spectators, as on the previous occasions.

On the first day there is a distribution of presents, and an interchange of such little articles as are peculiar to the locality from which they come; one tribe may be rich in wooden spears, another in reed spears or boomerangs, or have a fortunate deposit of chinkey-chinkey, or crystals of kolkebanya (talc).

During the day the young men (who on such occasions frequently wear a necklace of a great many coils made of threaded short pieces of reed, as well as armlets of opossum-skin) divert themselves with feats of skill in wrestling, throwing the spear or boomerang; and the boys play at weet-weet, a little piece of wood about five inches long, and conical at each end, to one of which is attached a straw-like twig about three feet long; the feat consists in making it leap and run the farthest along the ground without breaking the twig, and the mode of throwing is, to take hold of the end, swing it over head, and dash it on the ground. In the meanwhile the old men, seated like Turks in the shade of the giant gum-tree, discuss tribal affairs, or indulge in conversation on other matters, as they whisk away the flies with a bunch of opossum-skin thongs, and watch the feats going on before them.

On the following day, if provisions are scarce, they make up large hunting parties, and the females go in merry bands searching for any edible roots that grow around. On the third day they disperse, without any formal leave-taking, to fulfil other engagements or to return to their own hunting grounds.

Corroborees sometimes do not pass off so amicably; an old grievance may be revived, or a new one may arise, which will not admit of friendly arrangements; in which case they resort to fighting. Such was the position of affairs between certain tribes one beautiful November morning, when they adjourned from their camping ground to a little valley bright with flowers, the low hills on either side of which were thickly studded with shrubby trees. At the foot of the valley there was a clear lake, where swans and pelicans were sailing in all the pride of freedom; and on its margin, under some large gum trees, grew the white and blue forget-me-not, from which quail and snipe started at every step. Some rocky hills jutted into the opposite side of the lake, and beyond the plain stretched away up the valley of the Fiery Creek, till it met the wooded spurs of the

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Pyrenees, whose rounded heights closed the view. On the low hills on either side, amongst the shrubby trees, the belligerent tribes, about a hundred men in number, took up their respective positions, with loud shouts of defiance, and in constant motion, to enable them the more readily to avoid the missiles of their adversaries. Near the men, and round the upper part of the valley, the women were stationed in little groups. Suddenly the tribe on one side rushed in an irregular line down the hill, and, after having discharged their boomerangs, which trundled along the ground like hoops, up the hill of their opponents, instantly retreated to their partial cover. The other tribe then rushed down their hill, and discharged their boomerangs in the same manner at the retreating body; again the first tribe assault, and again their opponents repel it, every man vigorously leaping and shouting. While the young women collected the boomerangs and carried them to the men, occasionally exhorting them or fighting amongst themselves with their poles, the old women screamed and threw dust into the air, clasping their hands high over head, and quivering in every limb as it fell upon them. At length the men on either side seized their leeowils and mulkas, and rushed into the valley to meet each other hand to hand, fighting as with battle-axe and shield. In a brief space of time, a few bruises, scratches, and broken fingers, satisfy the contending parties, and all appear friends again.

When death visits a tribe there is great weeping and lamentation amongst the women, the elder portion of whom lacerate their temples with their nails; which they also do on all occasions of their friends being in pain or trouble. As the big tears course each other down their cheeks, the blood may sometimes be seen trickling from their temples. The parents of the deceased lacerate themselves fearfully, especially if it be an only son whose loss they deplore. The father beats and cuts his head with a tomahawk until he utters bitter groans. The mother sits by the fire and burns her breasts and abdomen with a small fire-stick till she wails with pain; then she replaces the stick in the fire, to use again when the pain is less severe. This continues for hours daily, until the time of lamentation is completed; sometimes the burns thus inflicted are so severe as to cause death. The relatives of the deceased cover their heads and the upper part of their faces with a white talcy clay, which is worn during the time of mourning; and widows, in some instances, have the hair first cut off with a little fire-stick close to the head, by the doctor or priest, before they assume this badge of woe.

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When a person dies of a loathsome disease, the body is burned; while that of a young person, whose death is attributable to a different cause, is put into a tree to decay. The bones are afterwards collected and buried, the mother sometimes securing the small bones of the legs, to wear round her neck as a memorial. Persons of matured life, especially old men and doctors, are buried with much ceremony. The grave is made in a picturesque spot, to which the body is borne by the relatives; and with it are interred the weapons and other articles belonging to the deceased. The grass is cleared away around the grave for about a yard at each side, and eight yards at each end, in the form of a canoe, and the ground carefully swept daily by the female relatives; and for a time a small fire is made every night at the foot of the grave. If the person were much respected, a little covering of boughs or bark upon four supports is placed over it, and the canoe-shaped space neatly fenced with stakes.

All deaths from natural causes are attributed to the machinations of enemies, who are supposed to have sought for and burnt the excrement of the intended victim, which, according to the general belief, causes a gradual wasting away. The relatives, therefore, watch the struggling feet of the dying person, as they point in the direction whence the injury is thought to come, and serve as a guide to the spot where it should be avenged. This is the duty of the nearest male relative; should he fail in its execution, it will ever be to him a reproach, although other relatives may have avenged the death. If the deceased were a chief, then the duty devolves upon the tribe. Chosen men are sent in the direction indicated, who kill the first persons they meet, whether men, women, or children; and the more lives that are sacrificed, the greater is the honour to the dead. The dead are very rarely spoken of, and then never by name, but in a subdued voice, as the lost one, or the poor fellow that is no more; to speak of them by name would, it is supposed, excite the malignity of Couit-gil, the spirit of the departed, which hovers upon the earth for a time, and ultimately goes towards the setting sun.

The tribes in the neighbourhood of Fiery Creek have two other malignant spirits—Neulam-kurrk, the evil spirit which inhabits craters and caves, and in the form of an old woman steals children and eats them; and Colbumatuan-kurrk, the spirit of storms, which kills or injures people by throwing limbs of trees upon them or in their way for them to fall against at night. They have also a good spirit named Barnbungil, who is the reliever of pain.

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One of the legends that these tribes are fond of relating is, that Tyrrinallum (Mount Elephant) and Bouningyoung (two volcanic hills about thirty miles apart) were formerly black men, that they quarrelled and fought, the former being armed with a leeowil and the latter with a hand spear, and after a prolonged contest, Tyrrinallum thrust his spear in Bouningyoung's side, the cause of the present hollow in the side of the hill, which so infuriated him that he dealt the other a tremendous blow, burying the point of the leeowil in his head, which made the present large crater, and knocked him to the spot where he now stands.

There are doctors or priests of several vocations; of the rain, of rivers, and of human diseases. The office is alleged to be obtained by the individual visiting, while in a trance of two or three days duration, the world of spirits, and there receiving the necessary initiation, but there are natives who refuse to become doctors, and disbelieve altogether the pretensions of those persons.

The medical doctor occasionally administers a decoction of a fleshy-rooted geranium, the only root used medicinally, and he has been known to bleed in the arm with a sharp flint; but incantation is the panacea for all the ills to which flesh is heir, whilst it is also regarded as the cause. The patient is seated in front of the operator, who utters a monotonous chant, makes passes by drawing his hands downwards over the part affected, and at intervals rubbing and blowing upon it. At the conclusion, supposing the disorder to be rheumatism, hot ashes are applied, but as incantation loses its power by the presence of a third person, it is very seldom and only by accident that the ceremony is witnessed. There is but small field for the doctor's art, as the only contagious disorder appears to be a mild form of hooping-cough, but many persons in advanced life are met with who are pitted as by small-pox.

When the river is very low, the doctor or priest is entreated to increase the supply of water: if the signs in the atmosphere are favourable, he, chanting, and with much gesticulation, places some human hair in the stream. The rain doctor performs his office in a similar way, but instead of placing human hair in the river, he drops it into the fire. Human hair is never burnt at other times for fear of causing a great fall of rain, nor does any one ever spit into the fire, as it would cause some unknown injury to the person so offending. It is also supposed that a shooting star (Porkelongtourte) portends evil to those who have lost a front tooth, to avert which they stir up the fire and cast about firebrands.

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All the tribes have traditions, and particular families have the reputation in their respective tribes of possessing the most exact knowledge of them.

A family having this character in the Boorong tribe, who inhabit the Mallee country in the neighbourhood of Lake Tyrril, and who take pride in saying that they know more of astronomy than any others, state that the earth is flat, and that it was in darkness until the sun was made by Pupperimbul. This person was one of the race who then inhabited the earth, and who are now called Nurrumbung-uttias, or old spirits. They possessed fire, and also the same characteristics as the present race, but were translated in various forms to the heavens before the present race came into existence. All the celestial bodies, as well as all appearances in (tyrille) space, are supposed to have been made by them. They exercise all spiritual influences, whether for good or evil upon the earth, where they are represented in a material form, amongst other creatures, by the Pupperimbul (Estrelda Temporalis), to kill one of which would be avenged by a deluge of rain.

Gnowee (Sun). An emu's egg, prepared and cast into (tyrille) space by Pupperimbul, before which the earth was in darkness. It is said by another tribe that the emu's egg was prepared by Bermberm-gl, and carried into space by Penmen, a small bird which they do not destroy.

Chargee Gnowee (Venus). Sister of the Sun, and wife of Ginabong-bearp.

Ginabong-bearp (Jupiter), Foot of Day. A chief of the Nurrumbung-uttias, and husband of Chargee Gnowee.

Mityan (Moon), Native Cat (Dasyurus Geoffroyii), who fell in love with one of Unurgunite's wives, and while trying to induce her to run away with him, is discovered by Unurgunite, when a fight takes place; Mityan is beaten and runs away, and has been wandering ever since.

Marpean-kurrk (Arcturus). Mother of Djuit and Weetkurrk. The discoverer of the bittur and the instructor of the aborigines where to find it. When it is coming into season with them, it is going out of season with her. The bittur is the pupa of the wood ant, which is found in large communities, and of which the aborigines are very fond. They subsist almost entirely upon it during part of the months of August and September. When she is in the north at evening, the bittur is coming into season; when she sets with the sun the bittur is gone, and (cotchi) summer begins.

Djuit (Antares). Son of Marpean-kurrk; the star on either side is his wife.

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Neilloan (Lyra), a Loan flying (Leipoa ocellata). The mother of Totyarguil, and discoverer of the loan eggs, which knowledge she imparted to the aborigines. When the loan eggs are coming into season on earth, they are going out of season with her. When she sets with the sun the loan eggs are in season.

Totyarguil (Aquilla). The star on either side is his wife. He was the son of Neilloan, and was, while bathing, killed by a bunyip, his remains were afterwards rescued by his uncle, Collenbitchick.

Although the bunyip appears to be an imaginary creature, yet it is feared by every one, and is described as having a head and neck like an emu, and as inhabiting deep holes in rivers and lakes, where it kills persons who venture therein.

Karick Karick (the two stars in the end of the tail of Scorpio). A male and female falcon.

Berm-berm-gl (two large stars in the fore legs of Centaurus). Two brothers noted for their courage and destructiveness, who spear and kill Tchin-gal. The eastern stars of Crux are the points of the spears that have passed through him, the one at the foot through his neck, and that in the arm through his back.

Tchin-gal (the dark space between the fore legs of Centaurus and Crux) Emu. Who pursues Bunya until he takes refuge in a tree, and who is afterwards killed by Berm-berm-gl.

Bunya, (star in the head of Crux) Opossum. Who is pursued by Tchin-gal, and who, in his fright, lays his spears at the foot of a tree and runs up it for safety. For such cowardice he became an opossum.

Tourt-chinboiong-gherra (Coma Berenices). A flock of small birds drinking rain-water, which has lodged in a fork of a tree.

Kourt-chin (Magellan Clouds). The larger cloud a male, and the lesser cloud a female native companion (Grus Australasianus).

War-ring (Galaxy). The smoke of the fires of the Nurrumbung-uttias. Another account is, that only a part of the galaxy is the smoke of the fires of the Nurrumbung-uttias, and that the other part is two Mindii, enormous snakes which made the Murray (Millee). The existing Mindii are about eighteen feet long.

Kulkun-bulla (the stars in the belt and scabbard of Orion). A number of young men dancing. (A corroboree.)

Larnan-kurrk (Pleiades). A group of young women playing to Kulkun-bulla.

Ghellar-lec (Aldebaran), Rose Cockatoo, (Cacatue Lead-

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beateri). An old man chanting, and beating time to Kulkunbulla and Larnan-kurrk.

Ware-pil (Sirius), Male Eagle. A chief of the Nurrumbung-uttias, and brother to War.

Collow-gullouric Ware-pil (Rigel), Female Eagle. Wife of Ware-pil.

Won (Corona). A boomerang thrown by Totyarguil.

Weet-kurrk (Star in Boötes, west of Arcturus). Daughter of Marpean-kurrk.

War (Canopus), Male Crow. The brother of Ware-pil, and the first to bring fire from (tyrille) space, and give it to the aborigines, before which they were without it.

Collow-gullouric War (a large red star in Rober Caroli, marked 966), Female Crow. Wife of War. All the small stars around her are her children.

Yerrer-det-kurrk (Achernar). Nalwin-kurrk, or mother of Totyarguil's wives.

Otchocut (Delphinus). Great Fish.

Collen-bitchick (double star in the head of Capricornus); a large ant. Uncle to Totyarguil, and rescuer of his remains from the Bunyip. The double star is his fingers feeling for the bank of the river.

Yurree (Castor), Wanjel (Pollux). Two young men that pursue Purra, and kill him at the commencement of the great heat; and Coonar-toorung (Mirage) is the smoke of the fire by which they roast him. When their smoke is gone weeit (autumn) begins.

Purra (Capella); Kangaroo. Who is pursued and killed by Yurree and Wanjel.

Unurgunite (a small star marked fifth magnitude, 22, between two larger ones, in the body of Canis Major). He fights Mityan and makes him run away for having tried to induce one of Unurgunite's wives to elope with him; the star on either side of Unurgunite is his wife, that farthest from him is the object of Mityan's affections.

The tribes inhabiting the country extending from Swan Hill to Mount Franklin have similar names and mythological representations for the stars to those here described. The language of the aborigines varies very much, and although they generally speak two or three dialects, they cannot understand a person that comes from a great distance. Taking the name represented by lodge, as an example of such variations, at Melbourne it is called mia-mia, at the Fiery Creek lyaeu, and at Mount Gambier oolah. Over a considerable tract of country man is called coolee, and woman bair-kurrk.

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They have no name for numerals above two, but by repetition they count to five; they also record the days of the moon by means of the fingers, the bones and joints of the arms and the head. Their year commences at the end of March or the beginning of April, and is divided into four seasons. The first season is weeitt, or autumn; the second myer, or winter; the third gnalleu, or spring; the fourth cotchi, or summer.

The dread of rain as a punishment for burning human hair, or killing a Pupperimbul, is rather curious, as there appears no cause for it. The country from the Pyrenees to the Murray is frequently without rain for months together, and the rivers there rarely flow more frequently than on alternate winters. The neighbourhood of the Salt Lake, Tyrril, the country more particularly alluded to, is so devoid of surface permanent water, that it is inhabited by the natives only in winter, except when they have recourse to the water in the roots of the Mallee.

I have not attempted any inference in the foregoing paper, but plainly to state facts as I found them, in the hope that they may attract the attention of those who have made ethnology their study, and assist to elicit from them conclusions that may farther advance the knowledge of the history of mankind. In that result I shall have the fullest confidence if the facts in this paper produce in others the astonishment that I felt, as I sat by a little camp fire, with a few boughs for shelter, on a large plain, listening for the first time to two aboriginals, speaking of Yurree, Wanjel, Larnan-kurrk, Kulkun-bulla, as they pointed to those beautiful stars.*

* The mythological portion of this paper, in a rather different form, was read by me before the Philosophical Society at Melbourne in 1857, and published in the *Transactions* of that society in 1858, but nearly the whole of that publication was destroyed at the time their temporary offices were burned.

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XXIII.—*Observations on the People of Western Equatorial Africa.* By M. Du Chaillu.

The country I explored lies between two degrees north and two degrees south of the equator, and to a distance of about four hundred miles into the interior. I doubt whether there is another district of the same size in Africa holding such number or varieties of tribes, all thinking themselves separate nations, and possessing different names, though many speak the same language or dialects. The language of the Ngobi tribe, the most southern tribe I visited south of Cape St. Catherine, seems different, and comes somewhat near the language of the Congo tribe. The *Fan* and *Osheba* cannibals seem to have a monosyllabic language peculiar to themselves, very difficult to understand.

One of the great peculiarities of these tribes is, that their villages are intermingled with each other, there is no special landmark assigned to each tribe, every village squats and settles where the people choose, and every now and then the traveller will be astonished to see a village belonging to a certain tribe far removed from it.

The cannibals are the tallest and handsomest of these tribes, of athletic form, in fact magnificent savages; but I have seen Fans near the equator who had not the fine appearance of these mountaineers, and were smaller. They even eat the dead. With the exception of these cannibals, the other tribes seem to be intermediate in stature between the tall Yolof, Mandigoe and Fulah, and more northern negro tribes I have seen, which are generally tall and slim, and the small sized men of the Congo and of the more southern tribes of Africa, which are small and ugly, and which I also saw. They are well proportioned, not stout, and built as if capable of enduring great fatigue. They may, as a whole, be called middle-sized men; the women are in proportional size to the men, though among the cannibals the females appeared in many instances smaller in proportion.

According to the commonly received notion, the negroes dwelling under the line, or near to it, ought to be darker than those removed from the line. It is a mistake. The countries I have visited do not possess what we should call black negroes, with the exception of the Ashira, who are a contrast with the tribes surrounding them. I have come to the conclusion, from my observations, that the negroes who inhabit a damp and moist country, and specially mountainous country, are less black, though they possess all the negro's features, than those

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belonging to open country, where a dry atmosphere is prevalent.

Among the cannibals, and specially among the Apingi, I found persons, almost looking like a mulatto. Albinos are rather common in the tribes I visited; I have seen in my different journeys more than eight or ten.

In this part of Equatorial Africa the negroes inhabiting the sea shore are a shade darker than those of the interior.

Appearance.—The tribes which I mention as speaking the Mpongwe language, seemed to me to be among the finest negroes of Western Africa; many of their women have as small a foot as the smallest possessed by the women of the Caucasian race: their hands are also very small. The other tribes have coarser features, this is probably due to their tattooing themselves and filing their teeth. The Ashira tribe is an exception.

The shape of the heads of the different tribes I encountered varies considerably; the Mpongwes and those speaking the same language possess the most intellectual heads, and, from personal observations, seem also the most shrewd, but among them there is also considerable variation.

Among the cannibal tribes the sugar-loaf head seemed to me the peculiar characteristic, and the forehead in many individuals was very receding; but their great skill in the manufacturing of iron implements would seem rather to indicate intelligence.

The negroes of this part of Africa do not belong to the lowest type of the western coast; they are superior to those of the Congo or more southern African tribes. The tribes of the interior I visited south of the Equator, possess a loom, and weave the fibres of a species of palm into cloth of considerable fineness and tenacity. Among the people of the same tribe their intelligence varies considerably. These negroes possess an imaginative mind, are astute speakers, sharp traders, great liars, possessing great power of dissimulation, and are far from being in many respects the stupid people they are believed to be. In everything that does not require mental labour and forethought, they seemed to me to learn almost as fast as any among the more intellectual races to a certain point. When I had to rely on them for anything that required the exercise of memory or forethought, anything on which the power of reflection was required, then they failed; partly, perhaps, through laziness. The consequence was, that I never dared to trust to even my best men the arrangement of preparations for our journeys. Though often treacherous, they have noble qualities, given to hospitality, and the women show great tenderness of heart, specially when one takes into account the way they are treated.

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Intermarriage.—The law of marriages among the tribes I have visited is peculiar; each tribe is divided into *clans;* the children in most all the tribes belong to the clan of the mother, and these cannot by any possible laws marry among themselves, however removed in degree they may have been connected: it is considered an abomination among them. But there exists no objection to possessing a father's or brother's wife. I could not but be struck with the healthful influence of such regulations against blood marriages among them. I have seen but one or two hunchbacks, no blind, no lame, but two or three born idiots, no deaf and dumb, as far as I can remember; no cripples. But to balance the beneficent effects of their laws of marriage, come their filthy habits. The love of eating carrion and putrid meat, and the want of proper food, of salt, of meat, of oily substances, all contribute to bring on disease, such as leprosy, elephantiasis, virulent ulcers, and other diseases of the skin; and among many tribes scrofula patients are not uncommon, specially among the tribes of the sea shore. Venereal diseases are also prevalent among those tribes. I have seen also several cases of the disease known under the name of sleepy disease, every case proved fatal. I have seen but two or three bald-headed negroes. The Apingi tribe, who feed chiefly on the palm-oil nuts, have many more children than other tribes, and are less subject to the disease above mentioned.

Generally speaking, there are few old men and women among the tribes, though occasionally one meets with a very old person. All these tribes, with the exception of the Mpongwe, are much given to petty quarrels, especially the cannibals, the Bakalai, the Shekiani, the Mbondemos, the Mbichos, etc. Some use guns, and those who do not possess guns use spears, the heads of which show the greatest refinement of cruelty in their jagged teeth, after the fashion of a fish-hook; the cannibals employ, also, the poisoned arrow and the tomahawk.

Their religious notions are of the loosest and vaguest kind, and no two persons are found to agree in any particular dogma about which the traveller seeks information. After the most careful and extensive inquiries, I am unable to present an array of facts from which a theological system can be drawn out or extracted. Superstition seems, in this part of the world, to have run wild. Among the tribes with which I am familiar there is no native generic term equivalent to our word *religion.* Fetichism is the term applied by Europeans to the system forming the African belief; by it we understand the worship of idols, of animate and inanimate objects, such as serpents, birds, rocks, mountains, peaks, waterfalls, feathers, teeth, claws,

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skins, and brains of animals, etc., etc. A universal belief exists in good and evil spirits; in the power of charms, called *Monda*, made with the objects above mentioned; in the power of witchcraft; and in the significance of dreams. I have come to the determinate conviction that though these people lay offerings upon the graves of their friends,—though they even sometimes shed the blood of slaves on the grave of a chief or that of the father of a family,—though they fear the spirit of the recent dead, they have no definite idea as to the state of the soul after death.

It is true, they fear the spirit or ghost of the recently departed, and besides placing furniture, dress, and food at their graves, return from time to time with fresh supplies of food. The victims slain at the grave, whether women or men, it is believed that their spirits join that of him who has departed. During the season appointed for mourning, the deceased is remembered and feared; but when once his memory grows dim, fear gradually lessens, presents of food over the grave become more and more scarce, and the generation that comes afterwards and who never saw the man, abstain from giving any present whatever, and take no concern about such spirit. Ask the negro where is the spirit of his great-grandfather, he says he does not know, *it is done*. Ask him about the spirit of his father or brother who died yesterday, then he is full of fear and terror: he believes it to be generally near the place where the body has been buried, and among many tribes the village is removed immediately after the death of one of the inhabitants. There is, as I have mentioned above, a total lack of generalization. Thus, some will believe that a certain man's soul, after he died, goes into the body of a bird, beast, or gorilla; but ask them concerning the transmigration of souls in general, they will say, No. They fear the spirit of the recently departed; they think of it as a vindictive thing which must be conciliated.

All the tribes I have visited have faith in the power and existence of two great spirits, generally called *Obambou* or *Ocoucou*, and the other, *Mbuiri;* they have other names in various tribes, which come near to the other: both appear to have power to do good or evil. They are not represented by idols, but in many villages have houses built for their occupation when tired of wandering, and food is offered to them. In some tribes they are believed to be married to two female spirits; they are said sometimes to walk in the street of the village, and to speak. They believe in idols, and each clan or head of a family possesses one. These idols are believed to have power to keep the clan out of evil, and to be able to foretell events. The word *Aniambié*

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stands, I think, for God; ask a native who has never seen a missionary what he means by God, he will not be able to give you the first definition of the Supreme Being. The word *Aniemba* means "the spirit or power of witchcraft." The greatest curse of these tribes is their belief in witchcraft. Strange to say, though reckless of human life, they have a most terrible and debasing fear of death. The word death is hardly ever uttered by them.

Witchcraft. In the first stage of a disease, the African sometimes is willing to attribute it to Aniambié, or to the spirits the cause of it. But soon comes again another proof of the strong materialism of their belief; as the patient gets worse, then they begin to attribute supernatural powers to man, who, by the gift of witchcraft, can break the thread of life.

Polygamy is prevalent among all the tribes I visited. The people who have access to the goods of the white man, have more wives: the richer a man is, the more wives he possesses.

Slavery is also an institution of the land: the richer a man is, the more slaves he must possess. A man has a right to kill his slaves whenever he chooses. In some of the tribes, which are fast dwindling down, the children born of slaves are free, but nevertheless, do not enjoy all the privileges and immunities of the free blood. There are two distinct forms of slavery, the domestic and the foreign slavery. In giving an idea how domestic slavery is implanted among these tribes, I will state that the slave is the money of the country,—the unit,—the standard of value. If a man is condemned to pay a fine, he has to pay so many slaves: if he has to pay for a dowry, he has to pay in slaves. Slaves seem to be the money of the country,—the standard of valuation. The domestic slave is seldom sold, unless for crime.

THE LANGUAGES OF EQUATORIAL AFRICA.

As we acquire greater knowledge of the languages and dialects of the nations and tribes of Africa, the conviction gains ground among many philologists that the people of this great continent belong to two distinct families. The line of separation, I believe to be found one or two degrees north of the equator, and seems to be caused by the mountains which I discovered, and which I suppose to cross Africa from west to east. To the south of this line, all the people now known speak in dialects which, though sufficiently distinct, belong evidently to one common family, having a common origin. This is true of all, so far as known, from the northern line I have denoted down to the Cape of Good Hope, except the Hottentots, the Namaquas, and a few other insignificant tribes near the last-men-

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tioned place, who are not supposed to belong to either branch of the African family.

This class of languages and dialects may be distinguished by the title alliterative. The changes which the words undergo in their declensions and conjugations always affect both the initial and final syllables, and whole sentences occur having a complete alliteration throughout.

The tribes of the northern half of the continent, so far as their languages are known to me by study or by personal observation (the latter confined to the western coast, through Gambia and Senegambia to the borders of the Desert), use dialects less regular in their structure, less melodious in sound, and by far more difficult for the tongue and ear of the white man.

Within the region which I explored, the language of the *Mpongwe* is one the most widely spread. It is used, with slight variations and modifications, by no less than seven of the most considerable tribes, the Mpongwe, Commi (Camma), Oroungou, Ogobai, Rembo, Ngaloi, Ayomba, and Anenga. Some other dialects, also, are evidently derived from this, while another large class has marks of decided kinship to the Bakalai language. This last is spoken, either purely or in dialects varying but slightly, by the Bakalai, Mbenga, Kombe, Bapoukou, Balengue, Mbousha, Mbondemo, Mbisho, Mbiki, Shekiani, Apingi, Evili, and probably many more tribes of the interior. The Gobi tribe, which is situated a little south of Cape St. Catherine, speak a dialect bearing some similarity with the tribes abovementioned, and the tribes inhabiting the Congo river.

The language of the cannibal tribe, the Fans, stands alone, being evidently not related to any of the others. It is rude and very guttural, and bears some likeness to that spoken in in the interior of Cape Palmas and on the Kroo coast.

The Mpongwe and Bakalai, and their kindred dialects, are to a remarkable degree regular and systematic in their structure. I found it very extraordinary that languages used only by savages, and having no written standard, should retain their precision and system, as these have done. Scarcely any languages known are so systematic as these. They are rich in words expressive of the ideas of these barbarous people, and they are capable of very great expansion for new wants.

The Bakalai language and its branches have no letter *r*. The Mpongwe and the Ashira, on the contrary, abound in this letter, which is rolled or accented very strongly. The Mpongwe strikes me as one of the finest of all the known languages of Africa. It is remarkable that all the tribes which use it are much less warlike than those which use the Bakalai, many of which are fierce and troublesome.

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The tribes inhabiting the west coast south of Cape St. Catherine speak dialects some of which show more affinity with the language of the Mpongwe, others with that of the Bakalai; but all show, in the formation of many of their words, a third element, proving that some of these words have been derived from another language with which the two former have not been acquainted, and of which we have no knowledge.

The Mpongwe language is to a very great extent polysyllabic. There are scarcely a score of monosyllabic nouns in the whole language, and not more than three or four monosyllabic verbs. It abounds in contractions and compounded words, in which, however, the parts are preserved sufficiently well to be very easily distinguished. There are but few words difficult of utterance to Americans or Europeans, and the pronunciation is very distinct, each syllable being fully sounded, making it easy of acquisition to strangers. Almost all the words terminate in a vowel, which is fully sounded, and a great part of the nouns and verbs also begin with a vowel. The genders of nouns are not distinguished otherwise than by prefixing the term *man* or *woman*. For instance, *wanna* means child; *wanto-wanna* is girl; and *olomè-wanna* is boy. There are several ways of forming the plural. Nouns which begin with a consonant are made plural by prefixing *i* to the singular forms; thus, *nago*, house; *inago*, houses. Nouns beginning with *o* form their plurals by changing *o* into *i*: thus, *omemba*, snake; *imemba*, snakes. Nouns beginning with *e* form their plurals by dropping the *e*; thus, *egara*, chest; *gara*, chests. Nouns beginning with *i* form their plurals by changing *i* to *a*; thus, *idambè*, a sheep; *adambè*, sheep. All the changes in the Mpongwe nouns, except such as result from contractions, are on the first syllable. The noun of agency is, in nearly all cases, formed by prefixing the letter *o* to the verb; thus, *noka* is to lie, and *onoka* is a liar.

Personal pronouns abound in the Mpongwe, and also in the Bakalai and other dialects of this region. Thus in Mpongwe, *mie* is I and me; *awè*, you; *yé*, he; *ayé*, she or it; *pers*, we; *azwé*, us; *anuwe*, ye; *nuwe*, you; *wao*, they; *wa*, them.

The adjectives have many changes besides their degrees of comparison. They do not, however, possess any inflections to indicate gender or case. In the following examples we find no less than seven forms of the adjective *mpolo*, which means *large*:—

Nyaré mpolo, a large cow.	*Omemba ompolo*, a large snake.
Inyaré impolo, large cows.	*Imbemba impolo*, large snakes.

These and like changes are used with the utmost precision, arbitrary as they are, and though they have, of course, no grammatical rules, nor any written standard.

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We come now to speak of the *verb*, which has, in all the languages of the southern half of Africa, the most peculiar forms. The Mpongwe verb has four moods, the indicative, the imperative, conditional, and subjunctive. The indicative mood is formed with the aid of auxiliary particles. The imperative is derived from the present of the indicative by the change of its initial consonant into its reciprocal consonant; thus, *tonda*, to love, *ronda*, love thou; *denda*, to do, *lenda*, do thou.

The conditional mood has a form of its own, but the conjunctive particles are used as auxiliaries at the same time, and different conjunctive particles are used with different tenses. The subjunctive has only one form, and is used as the second verb in a sentence where there are two verbs.

The tenses in the Mpongwe are the *present*, *past*, *perfect past*, and *future*. The perfect past tense, which represents the completeness of an action, is formed from the present tense by prefixing *a* and by changing the final into *i*; thus, *tônda*, to love, *atondi*, loved or did love.

The past is derived from the imperative by prefixing *a* and by changing *a* final into *i*; thus, *ronda*, love thou, *arondi*, to have loved.

The future tense is formed by the aid of the auxiliary participle *be*; as, *mi be tonda*, I am going to love. But this combination of words, if the nominative follows, expresses past time.

In the future tense the nominative goes before the verb in the order of construction. When an action is immediately to take place, the present tense is used as a future; as *mi bia*, I am coming immediately; while *mi be bia* means I am coming after a while, or at some indefinite time.

The passive is formed from the active simply by changing *a* final into *o*: thus, *mi tonda*, I love; *mi tondo*, I am loved. In the historical and perfect tense, which terminates in *i*, *o* is simply adjoined: thus, *arondi*, have loved; *arondio*, to have been loved.

There is also in every Mpongwe verb a negative for every affirmative form, and the negative is distinguished from the affirmative by an accent or dwelling on the first or principal vowel of the verb, which I will characterize in writing by the use of an *italic* letter. The negative form belongs to the passive as well as to the active voice, and this slight difference of intonation or accentuation is one of the most difficult for a foreigner to catch:

Mi tonda, I love.	Mi tondo, I am loved.
Mi *t*onda, I do not love.	Mi *t*ondo, I am not loved.

All the verbs in the Mpongwe language, with the exception of about fifteen or twenty, may be regarded as regular verbs,

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inasmuch as they are governed by the same fixed principle. The verbs of two or more syllables have always the final *a;* and the incipient consonants of these verbs are either *b, d, f, j, k, p, s, t,* or *sh.* Each of these has a reciprocal consonant. Such verbs as commence with *m* or *n,* which have no reciprocal consonants, retain these two letters throughout all their inflections, but in other respects are perfectly regular. The invariable reciprocal letter of *b* is *v* or *w.* So the imperative is derived from the present of the indicative in all the verbs which commence with *b,* by changing *b* into *w* or *v:* thus *mi bonga,* I take; imp. *wonga,* take. In the same manner, and with invariable uniformity, *d* is changed into *l, f* into *v,* or *fwn* into *vw, j* into *y, k* into *g, p* into *v, s* into *z, sh* into *zy,* and *t* into *r.* Thus,

Mi bonga, I take.	Mi kamba, I speak.
Wonga, take.	Gamba, speak.

Every regular verb in the language may be said to possess five conjugations, and as many as six compound conjugations. Thus, from *kamba,* to speak, or I speak, the causation is formed by changing *a* into *iza; kambiza,* to cause to speak. The form which implies habitual action is derived from the radical by prefixing *ga:* thus, *kamba,* to speak; *kambaga,* to speak habitually. The relative conjugation, which implies performing an action for or to some one, is derived from the radical by suffixing *na:* thus, from *kamba,* to speak, comes *kambana* or *kambina,* to speak to or with some one. The indefinite is derived from the radical by suffixing the imperative to the present of the indicative: thus, from *kamba* comes *kambagamba,* to speak at random.

In the Mbenga language, the radical *kalaga,* speak, is changed as follows: *kalakate,* to continue speaking; *kalakia,* to speak to or speak for; *kalakide,* to cause to speak; *kalanakiani,* to speak for one another; *kalaka bekatikali,* to speak at random; *takala,* to speak first (in a trial); *kalaka bo kalaka,* speak and do nothing else.

The radical form of the verb expresses the simple idea without any accessory or contingent meaning. The second expresses continuance of the action, and in many verbs intensity of the simple idea: thus, *kalakate mbi yokatè,* speak on; I will hear.

These remarks and exemplifications will give some idea of the beauty and philosophical structure of the languages of this region. There is in these languages a mine which will richly repay working. They possess an extensive unwritten literature, consisting of proverbs, parables, allegories, mystic interpretations, fables, and fantastic stories, which are handed down

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from generation to generation. Many of these fables I have listened to in the evening, by the light of my camp-fire, with unbounded delight, wondering at the imagination of the barbarous African.

I regretted only that want of time and my other pursuits prevented me from investigating and writing down many of their wonderful stories and fables.

I close with a table of numerals, which, as being the easiest to collect for comparison, must serve as a beginning for the philologist who desires to study the languages of this region. All that are here given were collected by myself. All but two or three I obtained when among the tribes to whom each list is credited. Some I gained by a visit to a French *emigrant* ship sailing from Cape Lopez with a cargo of negroes. To show what great facilities the student can have, even on the coast, for studying the languages of the far interior tribes, I may mention that on board this very ship I found men from no less than thirty-eight different tribes!

SENEGAMBIA TRIBES.

	Kingdom of Sin.	Yolof.	Kingdom of Baol.	Kosso.
1	Lèn.	Bien or Ben quick.	Kiliné.	Tâ, ta.
2	Bétique.	Niar.	Foulo or foula.	Félè.
3	Bétafoulàque.	Nièp (quick).	Sabo or saba.	Tchàoua.
4	Béta founaque.	Niélet.	Nani.	Nani.
5	Béta foutadaque.	Diéroum.	Loulou.	Dolou.
6	Béta fatique.	Diéroum ben.	Ourò.	Whita.
7	Bétasou.	Diéroum niet.	Ourò olo.	Ouà fèlâ.
8	Bétafou.	Diéroum niep.	Li.	Oiyapa.
9	Bétafousé.	Diéroum nielet.	Konontai.	Tàkoù.
10	Karbaki.	Fouque.	Ten.	Fo.

TRIBES OF THE PALM COAST.

	Baoolobo.	Vesey.	Bonzé.	Gola.
1	Nô.	Dondo.	Tan.	Ngoumou.
2	Hàn.	Téla.	Vélè.	Ntié.
3	Tàn.	Saquoy.	Daba.	Ntaï.
4	Hain.	Nani.	Nani.	Tina.
5	Hòò.	Soulou.	Lôlou.	Nonon.
6	Nodo.	Soudondo.	Maïda.	Diegoum.
7	Diétan.	Soufèla.	Maïfilè.	Diéntié.
8	Diyien.	Sousaquoy.	Maishaba.	Dietai.
9	Shondo.	Sounaui.	Maïnàn.	Dectina.
10	Ipou.	Tan.	Boù.	E'sia.

TRIBES IN THE BIGHT OF BENIN.

	Balengué, called also Molengué and Ayengué.	Onokò or Banò.	Camerun or Dwala.	Ibouai.
1	Guévoho.	Mpoco.	E'ouè.	Evoko.
2	Ibaré.	Ibali.	Béba.	Biba.
3	Raro.	Ilalo.	Bélalo.	Belalo.
4	Inaï.	Inaï.	Benèi.	Binaï.
5	Itano.	Itani.	Betano.	Betani.
6	Itano na guévoho.	Otoba.	Motoba.	Otoba.
7	Itano na ibaré.	Embouèdi.	Samba.	Mbouedi.
8	Itano na raro.	Lombi.	Lùmbè.	Louambi.
9	Itano na inai.	Diboua.	Iboua.	Iboua.
10	Ndioum or nai-hinaï.	Dioum.	Dôm.	Ndioum.

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TRIBES OF THE GABOON, MUNI, AND MOONDAH RIVERS.

	Mpongwe, spoken by eight tribes before mentioned.	Mbousha.	Shekiani, spoken also by the Mbondemo, Itaimon, Mbiki, and Mbisho.	Mbenga.
1	Mori.	Ivoco.	Wò tè.	Mpoco.
2	Bani.	Béba.	Iba.	Ibali.
3	Ncharo.	Bélalo.	Bitashí.	Ilala.
4	Nai.	Benaï.	Inéi.	Inai.
5	Tani.	Betano.	Itani.	Itano.
6	Roùa.	Ivoco béba.	Itani mé wotè.	Otoba.
7	Roaguenon.	Ivoco bélalo.	Itani né iba.	Embouaidi.
8	Ananai.	Ivoco benai.	Itani né itachi.	Loguambi.
9	Inongoum	Ivoco betano.	Itani inéi.	Ibouhi.
10	Igoum.	Dioum.	Dioum.	Dioum.

TRIBES ON OR NEAR THE OGOBAY AND ITS TRIBUTARIES.

	Alombo.	Ngobé or Mghobé (Camma).	Ashira.	Bakalai.
1	Imoshi.	Moshi.	Moshi.	Iéwotau.
2	Ibaï.	Baï.	Béi.	Béba.
3	Iraro.	Raro.	Iréro.	Bilalï.
4	Ina.	Ina.	Irano or iina.	Benaï.
5	Irano.	Dourano.	Samano.	Bitani.
6	Isamoum.	Disambouai.	Inégué, irero or inana.	Na iéwotau.
7	Disambouai.		Kumbo moshi.	Bitani-nabiba.
8	Denana.	Dinanouai.	Kambo béi.	Bitani nabilali.
9	Ifou.	Ipoi.		Bitani na benai.
10	Dégaumé.	Igoum.	Igoum.	Dioum.

	Mpovi.	Njavi.	Apingi.	Avila.	Ashango.
1	Mouéta.	Mòn.	Mpoco.	Moliai.	Moshi.
2	Bevali.	Bioli.	Mbani.	Banié.	Bibéi.
3	Betata.	Betato.	Tcharo.	Nchado.	Biraro.
4	Benaï.	Béna.	Inaï.	Naio.	Bina.
5	Betani.	Betani.	Itani.	Ntano.	Shàmanò.
6	Betani mouéta.	Samouna.	Moroba.	Enapo.	Nchambo.
7	Betani bevali.	Nchamou.			Pombo.
8	Betani betata.	Mponbon.			
9	Betani benai.	Ouà.			
10	Nchinia.	Igoume.			

	Ashaki.	Moshebo.	Mouandji.	Maduoma.	Moshe-ho.
1	Mori.	Mò.	Mò.	Mpoco.	Poco.
2	Bani.	Yolè.	Biolè.	Niolè.	Yolè.
3	Shata.	Moshato.	Tato.	Tato.	Nchalo.
4	Naï.	Minaï.	Nà.	Na.	Benaï.
5	Itani.	Tani.	Tani.	Tani.	
6		Motoba.			
10	Dioum.			Dioum.	

	Fan Tribe (Canibals).	Slave from River Congo.
1	Fo.	Boisse.
2	Béi.	Guali.
3	Là.	Tato.
4	Né.	Minai.
5	Tani.	Tano.
6	Shémé.	Samoum.
7	Zangoua.	Sabouani.
8	Moûm or Ouam.	Nana.
9	Iboum or Ibou.	Voua.
10	Woôoö or Aboum.	Koumi.

It is very much to be desired, that the same system of orthography might be adopted by every country for the writing of language.

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XXIV.—*Ethnological Notes on M. du Chaillu's "Explorations and Adventures in Equatorial Africa."* By CAPT. RICHARD BURTON, F.S.E.

THE Ethnological Society doubtless retains a pleasant recollection of a paper upon the tribes of Western Equatorial Africa read on the 14th of May by our latest celebrity, the enterprising M. du Chaillu. It has been suggested to me by my friend Dr. Hunt that a few remarks upon the subject of the eastern races of the same continent would be not uninteresting as tending to prove that throughout the vast breadth of the peninsula, the same language, the same manners and customs, the same religion and tone of thought—briefly the same ethnic development prevails. My approaching departure, *en route* for lands adjoining those first laid open by the author of the "*Gorilla Book*," leaves me but scanty time for any but a cursory glance at the subject, and may serve to excuse me for incoherence and want of polish of style.

I begin by remarking the superiority of the Mpongwe race to those occupying about the same latitude on the eastern coast. The American mission at Baraka and in Corisco administers, we are told, lessons in "geography, arithmetic, history, writing, and English." The Nuremberg mission, established by Dr. Krapf in 1844 among the Wanyika, has, with equal zeal, by no means been equally successful. Boys who persisted despite their brother imps in frequenting the schoolroom, with its glorious show of black boards and white chalk, were at once dubbed Mpumbafu or —— fools. When I visited the mission in 1858, Mr. Rebmann, the sole remaining member, showed me the only remaining convert, one Apekunja, who, I was naïvely informed, had been prepared for the "true faith" by a five year attack of idiocy brought on by the loss of all his relatives. The superior degeneracy of the eastern tribes may be explained by the prevalence of the slave trade in the most ancient times. The Periplus, attributed to Arrian, which was certainly not written after A.D. 200, proves that Greek factories were then established along the coast, and that the "largest bodies" were brought from the regions around the modern Kilwa. In a paper published by the Royal Geographical Society (*Journal* for 1860), I have given in detail my reasons for believing that the ill-fated eastern coast was well known as a human hunting-ground to the Arabs in the "Days of Ignorance," and to the Persians when they were still fire-worshippers.

The trading difficulties in the east are a counterpart of those in the west. For instance, the Wakamba, living fourteen

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marches north-west of Mombasa, have ever been obliged to use the Wanyika as middlemen, and, as might be expected, have been pitiably cheated. The injurious "trust system" extends not only to the semi-Semitic Somal, but also to the coffee trade of Southern Arabia. The tedious hours of chaffering are the same on both coasts, and I believe throughout the interior: time is not money in Africa. M. du Chaillu has known several days to be spent in selling a single ivory. I have seen an expenditure of six weeks. The West African traveller's remarks, concerning the commercial shrewdness and eagerness, the greediness and rascality of the negro, apply to him everywhere in his natural state. Rum and tobacco, clothing and ornaments, arms and gunpowder, have become necessaries to the coast races; they *will* have them, and unless they can supply themselves by means of licit they naturally fly to illicit commerce. Gold, iron, copper and other metals; palm and other oils; copal, caoutchouc and other gums; tusks, dye woods and timber; hides, coffee, sugar-cane, and last, but not least, cotton—these will be the real civilizers of Africa. It is pleasant to remark that some of those "Mpongwe fellows" have worked out the dogma that "honesty is the best policy," despite threats of poison and charges of witchcraft. The eastern races have never dreamed it in the moments of their wildest imagination.

Another trait familiar to me is the following. When Njogoni, a good royal friend of M. du Chaillu, was, after a fashion which civilized modern Europe seems to have borrowed from savage Africa, voted king, he underwent a peculiar preliminary to investiture. Some spat in his face, others beat him with their fists; some kicked him, others pelted him with abominations; whilst the unfortunates who could not join in this exhilarating exercise assiduously cursed him, his brothers and sisters, his parents, grandparents, and his remotest ancestors. When an especially severe cuff or toeing was applied, the applicant exclaimed, "You are not our king yet; for a little while we will do what we please with you. By and by we shall have to do your will." To show the absolute identity of custom in Unyamwezi—the Land of the Moon—I will quote verbatim from the account of my last journey to the Lake Regions of Central Africa (vol. ii, p. 31). "The chief" (Fundikira of Unyamwezi) "was travelling towards the coast as a porter in a caravan: when he heard of his father's death, he at once stacked his load and prepared to return home and rule. The rest of the gang, before allowing him to depart, beat him severely, exclaiming partly in jest, partly in earnest, 'Ah! now thou art still our comrade, but presently thou wilt torture, slay, fine, and flog us.'" It may be satisfactory to know that

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under these trying circumstances—more trying than the "pilling" of a London club—Njogoni and Fundikira both bore themselves like men and prospective monarchs.

The other habits in which the Mpongwe so nearly resemble the eastern tribes are their gross festivities with gorging and hard drinking, their contempt for those whom they can victimize in the merest trifle, their intense love of meat, and suffering from "guamba"—a word which merits naturalization—their polygamy and their concealing the deaths of their chiefs, their attributing all illness to witchcraft, their "keening" and shedding tears without grief, their barbarous habits of speechifying, their lengthy leave takings, their ceremonious starting on voyages, their shipbuilding—if such word can be applied to their cockleshells—their tedious salutations, their appropriating a peculiar dress to chiefs, their agriculture by means of hoes—the plough has never been known south of the equator—their improvidence, and their practice of cultivating only those plantations that are distant from their villages. I am pleased to see that M. du Chaillu has found exceptions to the general rule of idleness and chicanery, and to read as follows: "the very fact that a white man could travel alone, single handed, and without powerful backers, through this rude country without being molested or robbed, is sufficient evidence that the negro race is not unkindly natured." I believe that an abnormal development of adhesiveness, in popular language a peculiar power of affection, is the brightest spot in the negro character; as in children, it is somewhat tempered by caprice, especially under excitement, yet it has entitled him to the gratitude of many a traveller.

M. du Chaillu's account of oratory among the Mbúshá struck me at once as familiar. He says, "The speaker delivers himself in short sentences, each containing one of the many hundred memorable facts of the day's journey. All sit round silent and open mouthed, and at intervals the chief men give little grunts of approbation." Compare this with my account of a Somali speech (*First Footsteps in East Africa*, p. 189).

"The listeners sit gravely in a semicircle upon their heels, with their spears, from whose bright heads flashes a ring of troubled light, planted upright, and look stedfastly on his (the speaker's) countenance over the upper edges of their shields with eyes apparently planted like those of the Blemmyes in their breasts. When the moment for delivery is come, the head man inquires, 'What is the news?' The informant would communicate the important fact that he has been to the well; he proceeds as follows, noting emphasis by raising his voice, at times about six notes, and often violently striking with his spear at the ground in front.

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"'It is good news, if Allah please!'

"'Wa sidda!—even so!'—respond the listeners, intoning, or rather groaning the response.

"'I mounted mule this morning!'—'Even so.'

"'I departed from you riding!'—'Even so.'

"'*There*' (with a scream, and pointing out the direction with his spear.)—'Even so.'

"'*There* I went!'—'Even so.'

"'I threaded the wood!'—'Even so.'

"'I traversed the sands!'—'Even so.'

"'I feared nothing!'—'Even so.'

"'At last I came upon cattle tracks!'—'Hoo! hoo!! hoo!!!' (an ominous pause follows this exclamation of astonishment.)

"'They were fresh!'—Even so.'

"'So was the earth!'—Even so.'

"'I distinguished the feet of women!'—Even so.'

"'But there were no camels!'—'Even so.'

"'At last I saw sticks!'—'Even so.'

"'Stones!'—'Even so.'

"'Water!'—'Even so.'

"'A well!!!'

"Then follows the palaver, wherein as occasionally happens nearer home, he most distinguishes himself who can rivet the attention of an audience for at least an hour without saying anything in particular."

The western traveller remarks the ceremoniousness of the barbarian in these terms: "Then began the 'salutation,' a tedious formality among the African tribes which our American people seem to copy in their 'public receptions' of distinguished or notorious men."

As a pendant to this I extract the following passage from "Zanzibar, and Two Months in East Africa," certain papers published by me in *Blackwood's Magazine* of 1858.

"Two Sawahali have met; let us listen to the lengthy greetings exchanged.

"'A. Yámbo?' (the state.)

"'B. Yámbo sáná!' (the state is good.)

"'A. I seize the feet!'

"'B. How hast thou eaten and slept?'

"'A. I have made my reverential bow.'

"'B. Yámbo?'

"'A. It is good!'

"'B. Like unto gold?'

"'A. Like unto gold!'

"'B. Like unto coral?'

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"'A. Like unto coral!'
"'B. Like unto pearl?'
"'A. Like unto pearl!'
"'B. In happiness, Kwaheri!' (farewell!)
"'A. In happiness let us meet if Allah please!'
"'B. Hum!'
"'A. Hum!' (drawn out like the German's so-o-o)"

With respect to the horrid cannibalism of the Fans it forms no exception to the rule usually laid down respecting anthropophagy. The so called unnatural practice is ever most prevalent in those places where, as in New Zealand, animal food is deficient. The damp and depressing atmosphere of equatorial Africa renders the stimulus of flesh diet necessary. The "guamba" appears not to have spared M. du Chaillu any more than it did his sable guides, and although he had the moral courage to resist the "gastronomic caprice" of breakfasting off a fat young slave, one could hardly expect so much from the untutored mind of the so termed "noble savage." On the eastern parts of the continent there are two cannibal tribes, the Wadoe and the Wabembe. The former occupy the same position upon the Barbaricus Sinus assigned by Ptolemy, (lib. iv, c. 8), to his anthropophagi. According to their own legend, however, the practice is modern; when weakened by the attacks of their neighbours, the Wakamba, they began to roast and eat slices from the bodies of the fallen, in presence of the foe, who daring to die but unable to face the idea of becoming food, fled the country. Many of the Wadoe are tall and well-made negroes; light complexioned, although inhabiting the low and humid coast regions—a proof, if any were wanted, that there is nothing radically unwholesome in their *ménu*. The Wabembe occupy a strip of land on the north-western shore of the Tanganyika Lake. These "menschen-fresser," as they were rightly designated by the authors of the *Mombas Mission Map*, have abandoned to wild growth a land of the richest and the most prolific soil; too lazy and unenergetic to fish or hunt, they devour all kinds of carrion, grubs and insects, and like the Fans are not disgusted by the worst form of cannibalism—eating the bodies of persons who have died of sickness. The Midgan or slave caste of the semi-Semitic Somal are sometimes reduced by hunger to this dire extremity, but they are ever held, like the Wendigo or man-eaters among the North American Indian tribes, impure and detestable.

M. Du Chaillu has rightly defined polygamy in Africa as a political rather than a domestic or social institution. A "judicious culture of the marriage tie" is necessary amongst savages and barbarians, where, unlike Europe, a man's rela-

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tions and connections are his only friends; besides which, a multitude of wives ministers to his pride and influence, state and pleasure. As customary amongst polygamists, from Moslem to Mormon, there is a head wife—usually the first married. When the mistress of the house ages, she takes charge of the girlish brides who are placed by her husband under her guardianship. I should attempt in vain to persuade the English woman that there can be peace in a household so constituted. Such, however, is the case. M. du Chaillu distinctly says, "I have found that the wives rarely disagree among themselves." The feelings become greatly modified; the alliance becomes one of interest rather than of affection, and the underlying idea, "the more the merrier," especially in lands where free service is unknown, seems to annihilate envy and jealousy. Everywhere, moreover, amongst polygamists the husband is strictly forbidden to show preference for a favourite wife; if he do so, he is a bad man; if he act with impartiality, his conduct is approved of. The other point in which the eastern resemble the western tribes of Africa is the paying goods or slaves for the bride, who is disposed of (as, I am told, sometimes happens among the highly civilized) to the longest rent-roll. Quarrels and wars about the sex are common throughout Africa; yet there is the greatest laxity of morals. In the east and in the west the son succeeds by inheritance to his father's wife, who being generally an old woman, is condemned to be useful as she can no longer be ornamental: when there are several, they are divided amongst the heirs. The African woman holds a high social position: no questions are put concerning her children; despite the hide-peacemaker she gets tipsy, and she dances with all her might a very peculiar fandango. In Unyamwezi, as in the Ashira country, a husband seldom interferes with the property which he has made over to his wife, and she guards her rights with a truly feminine love and jealousy. The women cultivate and plant the ground, and after feeding their husbands, expend the surplus products in the beads and baubles which compose their bijouterie. The Bakalari, like the Somal, will not marry a woman of the same family or clan as themselves; a similar institution is observable amongst the North American Indians, who reject all of the same totem. The idea is doubtless the danger of consanguinity; for most Africans, who will not take to wife a fiftieth cousin, will marry, like the Jews, their brothers' widows. Another custom familiar to me is the descent and inheritance through the female line—the "surer side": it is practised in Malabar, and in Zanzibar, and extends through most savage people. In the east as in the west of Africa, the uncle has an interest in the sisters'

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children: when they are sold, he claims his per centage, and in some tribes he is permitted to dispose of them, whereas the parents are not. Thus, on these occasions, speaks the *vox populi vox Dei*, "What, is the man to go hungry when he has a sister's brat to sell?"

The gorilla is sufficiently connected with the Ethnological Society to deserve a few words of notice. One book informs us that the first discovery has been claimed for Hanno, the Carthaginian (*Periplus*, ch. 18), and that the earliest word was "Γορίλλαι," a term applied by the ἑρμήνεες or native interpreters. The learned Klugius has unwisely noted "sive dubio ea est simiarum species quæ orang-outang vocatur." M. du Chaillu proposes, unsatisfactorily enough I think, to read chimpanzee. The islanded island-lake described for the old Tyrian is apparently apocryphal; but his account of the anthropoid's ferocity is peculiarly appropriate. I venture to suggest that the word gorilla was a Grecised form after the true classic fashion of an African root: our author calls it in the Mpongwe dialect "ngina," and in the Mbusha "nguyla," which might most naturally have become "gorilla."

The religion of the Africans is ever interesting to those of a maturer faith, as the study of childhood is pleasing to those of riper years. Orthodoxically, I believe Fetissism is held to be a degradation of the pure and primitive Adamical dispensation, even as the negro is supposed to represent the accursed and degraded descendants of Ham and Canaan. I cannot, however, but look upon Fetissism as the first dawn of a belief in things not seen. My description of it, which is repeated from the *Lake Regions of Central Africa*, is as follows—"It is the adoration, or rather the propitiation, of natural objects animate and inanimate, to which certain mysterious influences are attributed. It admits neither God, nor angel, nor devil; it ignores the very alphabet of revealed or traditionary religion—a creation, a resurrection, a judgment day, a soul or a spirit, a heaven or a hell; it has not yet learned to look forward to rivers of rum, mountains of meat, and wives by thousands. A modified practical atheism is thus the prominent feature of the superstition. Though instinctively conscious of a being beyond them, of a first cause to every effect subject to their senses, the Africans have as yet failed to grasp the idea: in their feeble minds it is an embryo rather than an object—at the best a vague god, without personality, attributes or providence. They call that being Mulungu—the Uhlunga of the Kafirs, and the Utita of the Hottentots. The term, however, may mean a ghost, the firmament, or the sun; a man will frequently name himself Mulungu, and even Mulungu Mbaya, the latter word signifying bad or wicked. In

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the language of the Wamasai "Ai," or with the article "Engai"—the Creator—is feminine, god and rain being synonymous.

The tribes described by our author have advanced one step beyond their western brethren. No longer contented with mere fetisses or charms, in which the dreaded ghost is bound or laid, they have invented mbuiti or idols, a manifest progress towards that polytheism and pantheism which lead through the triad and duality of deities to monotheism, the apex of the spiritual edifice. In Eastern Africa I know but one people, the Wanyika, who have certain statuettes called kisukas; but they declare that these images came from the west where, in 1589, Andrew Battel found idols amongst the Giagas or Jagas. In one point the east and west surely resemble each other—the ignoble dread of a death which leads to annihilation. Counting on nothing after the present life, there is for them no hope beyond the grave, they wail and sorrow with a burden of despair. "Amekwisha"—"he is finished"—is the East African's last word concerning parent or friend. "All is done for ever" sing the West Africans. The least allusion to loss of life makes their black skins pale; "Ah," they exclaim, "it is bad to die, to leave house and home, wife and children, no more to wear soft cloth, nor eat meat, nor drink tobacco." "Ah," said an unfortunate moribund to our author, with a shudder, "never speak of that!" meaning death. Such is the ever-present horror of their "dreadful and dreary lives."

Fetissism is a faith which must be studied by casting off all our preconceived ideas. The Africans, for instance, believe in ghost, but not in spirit; in a present immaterial, but not in a future: we are disposed to expect from them a metempsychosis or transmigration of souls, whereas they have nothing beyond the material metamorphosis of which Ovid sang. Their mangorilla, for instance, is the French loup garou, and the man-leopard of Abyssinia is the man-hyæna of the Somal. It is intelligible English to say that they have charms for casting out the *devil;* but the truth is they have no devil. Sathanas in Africa is some ghost who has made himself unusually unpopular to the multitude; being very wicked he is naturally much worshipped. When the savages believed M. du Chaillu to be a mbuiri or spirit, they meant that he was a *revenant,* consequently a subject of fear and awe.

I will now briefly glance at the remaining salient points of ethnic similarity between Eastern and Western Africa. The languages are clearly of the same family; the syntax is one, and in the Mpongwe many of the words are familiar to me. They belong to that great South African group whose

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specialities are euphonic alliteration and the inflection of words by preformatives. M. du Chaillu's failure in reaching the cataract of Samba Nagoshi when he heard its roar is perfectly characteristic: I was within sight of the Tangaryika's head, and yet could not reach it. Twins are killed, either singly or in pairs, almost throughout the pagan part of the continent. The habit of smoking the cannabis is the same. M. du Chaillu omits to enumerate Northern and Southern Africa amongst the places—Abyssinia, Persia, and Hindostan —where he says the plant is indigenous; it grows wild throughout the country, but the people cultivate it because its qualities are thereby improved. The style of dyeing by fixing colour with clay, the pottery worked without a lathe, the loom for weaving employed by men, the iron tabacco pipes, the handleless hammer, and the peculiar double-handed bellows, are everywhere the same. I recognise the force of ridicule upon the negro's childlike mind, his hatred to be laughed at, his mild jokes, and his fitful merriment, and his wayward gloom. The habit of tasting food and water before the guests is a general custom; the fearful prevalence of poisoning accounts for it. The Mbundu, or narcotic poison of ordeal, extends wide over the country, and the medical man is everywhere probably a Mithridates. As among the Bakalari, so amongst the Somal, a lie shows itself in a man's face: after a month's practice I never failed to read the working of the features. The African's peculiar courage has evidently excited our author's curiosity; he remarks their bravery in the hunt, and their genuine and never-failing cowardice in the fight, and that, having little to lose, they most dread the loss of life. In all my travels I have observed the same; it is only the civilised man that can throw away life as if he could recover it. The medicine man, who is a rain maker in the arid regions of the south, is a rain stopper in the uncomfortable wet climates of the centre and the west. The system of "roondah" or forbidden meats has been noticed by Dr. Livingstone and by myself in the tribes through whom we passed. The plague of flies and ants, which some have deemed exaggerated, has been pourtrayed by all of us: the tsetse (glossina morsitans), that worst of pests to the brute creation, appears not to reach the equator in Western Africa. I have heard of, but was unable to identify, the "ivory eater" alluded to in the explorer's sixteenth chapter. In East Africa the kendo or bell is not the insignia of kingship, but it is extensively used by ivory carriers, the chiefs of the caravan; the waganga, or witch doctors, also wear strings of kiungi, or little bells. The eldest son of a chief lives abroad in many African tribes, because at home he is most likely to kill his father.

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The rights of monopoly are sacred throughout the negro race, as amongst us the strongest takes and keeps them. The stereotyped answer to all deprecations of witch burning and wizard spearing, "there may be no magic among you whites; but it is very different among us, because we have known many men who were bewitched and died," is familiar to Asia as to Africa: whenever I spoke contemptuously to a Moslem of his Jinns, or to a Hindu of his rakhshasas, the rejoinder invariably was, that white men are by nature so hot that even the fiends fear them. The pride which the chief takes in his muzungu, ntangani, or white man, is characteristic of the African, who instinctively feels the superiority of his Arian congenor, often shows his sense of the honour by refusing the visitor — invariably deemed a Crœsus—access to the neighbours, lest the latter be puffed up by the distinction. When the chief dies slaves must be slain, and provisions, ornaments, arms, and valuables must be buried, that their "ebony kingships" may not be left alone or empty-handed in the grave; the same is practised by many tribes of North American Indians. I recognise the "fine quiet old-country pictures in the wilds of Africa," and have often described their effect upon me when emerging suddenly from the "immense virgin forests" or backwoods, upon the prairie "shining with a golden glory," and dotted over with grazing kine. The *mafuga*, or master of ceremonies, *is* an absurd personage—not only in Africa. "Early to bed, and early to rise" is not supposed to make a man healthy, wealthy and wise, by tribes that live in a primæval state, and who justly hold labour an evil inferior only to death. I have often heard the Somal palavering long after midnight, and as a rule the savage enjoys his night chat and smoke round the fire the more as he is in the habit of drinking and dozing through the day. In the West African as in the Eastern, exaggeration is the characteristic of the mind—it is probably the effect of the wild rank gigantic scenery upon the senses, the avenues of all human knowledge. Albinos are common in all tribes where they are not murdered: I have often been "chaffed" about a brother white who proved to be an exceptional negro without pigmentum nigrum. "Tomorrow" is a favourite word everywhere east of Europe: Asiatics and Africans invariably act upon the sometimes sensible precept "never do today what you can do tomorrow." The respect shown by the Mbicho to the new moon is not peculiar to them; the Wanyamwezi also hail the appearance of the lesser light, and even the Moslems, when they sight the crescent, ejaculate a brief prayer for blessings throughout the ensuing month.

The head, whether of man or beast, is a royalty amongst

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almost all African tribes. The iron working of the Fans, by means of many successive heatings and hammerings, which, without other tempering, turns out an article very superior to that which is sent from Europe, is precisely similar to the handicraft of the Amazulu and the Somal, who call the best blades of Sheffield "rotten iron," because they chip and snap. In Central as in Western Africa the beard is plaited and beaded. I cannot recommend the practice to the philopogons of Europe; the Fan mustachios, however, you will observe are much copied during the present season. The *fortiter in re* is always and everywhere a *sine quâ non* in Africa. M. du Chaillu is compelled with his fists to pitch into the unworthy sons of king Mbene, who stole his plantains, and when he left Biangano to inform chief and people that if anything were stolen during his absence he would shoot the thief: even Dr. Livingstone, who travelled as a Christian missionary, he tells us, was obliged to keep his escort in order with his pistols. As our author truly says, "civilisation,"—police courts, and so forth—"is a very good thing in its way, but has no business in an African forest, where food is scarce."

After saying so much for the West African explorer, who has so unexpectedly and so agreeably appeared amongst us, I may perhaps be permitted to take exception to a single sin of omission in his entertaining work—the want of an exact orthography. For instance, the word Mshiego. If it is to be pronounced Mshigo, it wants no e; if Mshego, the i is *de trop*. The African as the Asiatic traveller should be expected to choose his system; it is no matter which, but it is essential that there should be one. That founded by Sir William Jones appears the best, because of the most general applicability; moreover, any corrector for the press could master it. It was preferred by our old Hebraists who translated the Pentateuch and the Prophets; they wrote Jerusalem, not Jeroosalem, or Jerousalem; and its essential value has been proved by the host of modern modifications proposed by savans and missionaries.

This paper will, I trust, satisfy the most querulous that M. du Chaillu has well and veraciously studied the new and curious races of whom he has treated. For myself, I must be allowed to offer him my best thanks; every page produces upon my mind the effect of the bugle upon the cast charger after a year or two in the cab-shafts of civilisation. And I venture to express a hope that at some future day I may be permitted to appear before the Ethnological Society as an eye-witness of, not merely an analogical testimony to, the truthfulness of the picturesque and varied pages which have caused such a sensation on both shores of the Atlantic.

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XXV.—*On the Social and Domestic Traits of the African Tribes; with a Glance at their Superstitions, Cannibalism, etc., etc.* By Consul Thos. J. Hutchinson, F.R.G.S., F.R.S.L., F.E.S., etc., etc.

More than three hundred years have passed away, since Shakespeare made the Prince of Morocco to address Portia, the rich heiress of the *Merchant of Venice*, in the following words:—

> "Mislike me not for my complexion,
> The shadowed livery of the burnished sun,
> To whom I am a neighbour and nigh bred:
> Bring the fairest creature northward born,
> Where Phœbus' fire scarce thaws the icicles,
> And let us make incisions for your love,
> To prove whose blood is reddest—his or mine."

Yet despite of the assertion lately endeavoured to be demonstrated in a work by Dr. Bucknill, *On the Medical Knowledge of Shakespeare*, that the bard "who wrote not for an age, but for all time", had "sound views on physiology and pathology", the extract from his writings which I have just repeated makes me doubt the aptitude of such a character, whilst allowing an extensive range for poetic license. To my humble thinking, more is needed to enable us to judge of the attributes of humanity than the colour of the blood, even in what my fair hearers may consider the all-important matter of love. For, although I presume to lay no doubt on the fact of any African to be found between Cape Blanco and the Cape of Good Hope possessing as red and as healthy a life-fluid as the most vigorous and intellectual member of the Caucasian race, I nevertheless feel much pain at being obliged to lay before you evidence from my own observation, tending to show that he is not exactly the style of "man and of brother" which mistaken enthusiasts for his civilization depict him to be.

The vast continent of Africa is nearly five thousand miles in length, and above four thousand five hundred in breadth (at its greatest extremities), being computed at an area of thirteen millions four hundred and thirty thousand square miles. It is inhabited by a hundred and fifty millions of people, chiefly composed of Moors, Arabs, and Negroes, as original tribes. Yet, amongst the present population, the Mulatto element is very prevalent. With no portion of it is the commingling of races more vividly perceptible than with the Filatahs, of whom I have recorded some curious analogies with the early Anglo-Saxons of Great Britain, in my little work on the *Niger-Tshadda-Binuê Exploration*, published nearly six years ago, by Messrs. Longman of Paternoster Row.

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The correct ethnology of this interesting race is not yet decidedly ascertained, although it has been treated of specially by Drs. Latham and Pritchard, as well as by a French writer, M. Frouberville. They are called Filatahs by the Bornuese people; Filanahs by the Haussa; and Footas, Foolahs, and Poolahs by each other in respective segments of their tribe. Some persons believe them to be of a Carthaginian origin, with a mixture of Negro blood; whilst others attribute their primitive stock to the Arabs, who invaded Africa in the seventh century, and, crossing the continent, commingled with the various tribes of Negroes.

That they hold an important position in Africa in the present day, is patent from what Mr. Hodgson writes of them, in his *Notes of Northern Africa*, as follows:—"They are found spread over a vast geographic region of 28° to 30° of longitude (1500 miles), and of 7° to 8° of latitude (500 miles). They extend from the Atlantic Ocean from the mouths of the Senegal and Gambia Rivers on the west, to the kingdoms of Bornu and Maudara on the east; from the deserts of Sahara in the north, to the mountains of Kong in the south. This wide superficies is more than 700,000 square miles, which is equal to the fourth part of Europe, and the tenth part of the immense continent of Africa."

Leaving aside, however, the matters of their government, of their truculency in the propagation of Mahomedanism, and of their pastorality, all of which have been lately set forth by the illustrious traveller Dr. Barth, let us look, though only externally, at a few features of their social life, and these will be proofs of the poet's idea that "one touch of nature makes the whole word kin."

You will be surprised, no doubt, to hear that I brought down with me from the tribes of Filatahs, in Central Africa, "iron heads of spears with wooden shafts", and "iron spiked ferules", "heads of javelins", and "arrows", double-edged swords", "knives", "beads for ornaments", "pottery-ware for culinary purposes", exactly similar in pattern to those that are described by one of your Secretaries, Mr. Wright, in a paper on the Fausset Antiquities, which he read before the British Association at Liverpool, five years ago, and which antiquities, I need scarcely tell you, were excavated at Canterbury, as well as proved to have been used in this country before the introduction of Christianity to our shores. Even the cowrie (the shell of the *cyprea moneta*), which is described in Mr. Wright's paper as having been found amongst other relics of our Anglo-Saxon forefathers, is in this very day the currency amongst the Filatahs.

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It may perhaps increase the interest of my statement, which can be demonstrated by the articles I brought home (being deposited at the Royal Institution museum, at Liverpool), when I add that they were obtained from tribes, who had no record of ever having been visited by any white man previous to the time of our voyage, at the end of 1854.

The assertion made by statistical writers of two-thirds of the gross population of Africa being slaves subject to the governing power of the remaining third, is one whose accuracy I very much doubt as regards its numerical proportions. Such a calculation may be correct if applied to partial districts on the coast, for along there the principle of serfdom has many grades. A boy, who is my property, may be owner of another boy or boys, each of whom may be owner of boys in his turn. Besides this, there is really no broad line of demarcation between the master and slave class. For a freeman gives his daughter as wife to a favourite slave, and if the latter be a smart boy, he is left heir to his master's property when that person dies; thus, in fact, the slave becomes an owner of his own father and mother, should they happen to be amongst the property which he inherits from his late master.

It would require a score of volumes to treat properly of the extensive ramifications of this order of things, and to set it forth in all its many phases of despotism, from the mighty potentates of Ashantee and Dahomey to the petty owner of a single nigger boy. For a man's position in Africa is not estimated by the extent of land he holds or the quantity of chattels he possesses, but by the number of his slaves.

The system of pawning, as it is carried on in many parts of the Gold Coast, as well as through the country interior to Lagos, presents a curious feature of domestic life in Africa. This kind of bondage, though but temporary, is as frequently involuntary as it is the opposite condition; and it is sometimes a peculiarly African way of paying debts by the labour of slaves, who become thus pawned. When a man is pawned, it is generally at an usurious rate; and often an amount of fifty per cent. interest must be paid by his owner before he can be redeemed.

Children born whilst their mothers are in pawn need to be redeemed at from four to four dollars and a half each. If a person die whilst in pawn, his or her relatives cannot take away the body for the purpose of burial till they have paid redemption money. To this a compromise is sometimes made by allowing whoever buries the body to be security for the debt.

Whilst on the subject of debt, I may mention that, amongst the Efik tribe at Old Kalabar, there exists a very free-and-easy

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way of liquidating these, in the fact that responsibility for debts is not a particular, but an universal liability on the district to which the debtor belongs. As, for example, if a debt be due to me by any man in a neighbouring town, I have a liberty—supposing I possess the power—to distress the goods or capture the person of any other man in the same district, and keep him in *durance vile* till his neighbour's debt or debts be paid. Of course such a capture must be effected by stratagem; but once I have a man in my power, possession gives me *all* the points of the law, and if he be a fellow of worth, I could keep him as prisoner till every item due to me by any or all of his tribe were liquidated.

The languages of all the African races being unwritten, there exists no literature amongst them, save with the Arabs, whose chief book is the Kûran, of which enough is known to justify me in omitting further allusion to it here.

Along the coast, however, the diversity of dialects is so marked within limited spaces, that Capt. Adams says, "the Tower of Babel might have been erected in any of these districts". Up the Kameroons—the Old Kalabar—and the Bonny districts, there exists in a locality interior to each a tribe entitled the Qua people. And it is a curious circumstance, that the Quas of Kameroons speak a different language from, and know nothing of, those of Bonny and Old Kalabar, the Qua inhabitants of which know nothing of each other.

That the title "QUA" was originally the generic name of a single tribe, I cannot doubt; although no legend chronicles its having been scattered, or the origin of its nomenclature. But it is an interesting subject of reflection for the philologist, that these three segments of one tribe, though still bearing the same name, articulate in entirely different dialects.

Amongst those tribes who have picked up a jingling of English, the most prominent feature of their Anglo-African jargon is bombast, of which I will give you a short illustration. One one occasion, as soon as a man-of-war steamer had dropped anchor in the harbour of Mourovia, the capital of the Negro republic of Liberia, a canoe was seen to be shoved off from the shore, whose occupant, directly he came alongside, handed to the commander a letter couched in the following words:—

"Gentlemen of the Man-of-War,—I shall be happy to see you on shore. Mrs. H. sends her love, and will be happy to wash your clothes. I have the honour to be, gentlemen, yours affectionately, J. H., Colonel of the Liberian Militia."

This combination of love and soap-suds, especially coming from the wife of a colonel, has enough of grotesque on the face of it to spare any further comments from me.

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A very poetic idea exists on parts of the western coast about the first formation of the world. Amongst some of the tribes on the Gold Coast, it is believed that, when God made the world, He created one black man and woman, and a like pair of whites. The black being of course His favourites, He gave to them the choice of two articles placed before them—namely, a sealed-up box, and a sealed letter. In their avarice, they took the box, which they found to contain nothing but a few worthless metals; and therefore to the whites was left the letter, which told them everything—where to go, how to build ships, to make cloth, and guns, and powder, and rum: the three last of which, I am sorry to say, our merchants teach these people to be the *acmé* of civilization.

No more ready explanation of the abstract ideas of theology entertained by the native Africans need be adduced, than an example of it elicited from a member of my own household at Fernando Po.

Amongst our Krumen servants was one very knowing fellow, to whom the name of Wilson had been given by his first employer—for they are invariably renamed by their European masters, when on their primary voyage from their native country—and he was the cockswain of my boat's crew, as well as our attendant at table. When narrating to Mrs. Hutchinson on one day some incident or other connected with the ten years he had been attending a missionary school at Cape Palmas, she asked him, what did he learn, or what did he know about God? The question seemed to puzzle him an instant, for he only gave a vacant grin; but observing her to repeat the inquiry with a serious air, he immediately assumed a solemnity of look, and said he knew God very well—"God be very good, and make two foine things no man fit to make." "Only two!" exclaimed she, no doubt surprised at his limiting our Creator's omnipotence to two facts; and, being anxious to hear his explanation, requested him to tell her what they were. It would need an actor with the comic genius of Robson or Buckstone to imitate the manner in which Wilson, his finger exploring his hair, and a curious leer in his eye, replied:—"Mammy, dem two ting God make be foine past what any man can make. One ting be Shleep—foine, foine ting, mammy, no man fit to make dat; and tother thing be Sunday, when no pusson have for work." So that this man's ten years education did not impress on his mind any ideas of God's beneficence displayed otherwise than in making sleep and in creating Sunday.

Each town or district of every tribe has its own head, or king, or chief, who is supreme arbiter of life and death in matters of social government.

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On many occasions the ju-ju king or high priest is appealed to by parties deeming the religious portion of their laws to be the most influential. But, even in cases of this kind, the civil king or chief has the ju-ju man under his private control.

The position which a ju-ju priest holds is nevertheless very important. He is the moral custodian of the tutelary deities, as well as the dispenser of superstitious rites. The tutelary deity of Brass district is a boa constrictor; of Bonny it is the iguana; and each other locality has its specific ju-ju—many of them being skulls, trees, flowers, stones, or other inanimate things. The worship of these idols is rather of a passive kind; for no prayer or adoration is offered up to them. The boa constrictor and iguana are nevertheless held in such reverence, that they are allowed to come into the houses, and eat any sort of chop which lies in the way.

It is death to any man to cause injury to one of these reptiles; but if one be found dead, it is rolled up with white cloth, and then tied in a mat to be buried, whilst the firing of guns and drinking of rum are carried on during its interment. Indeed these crawling brutes are buried with the highest military honours, amongst a people who often sew up their dead slaves in pieces of country matting, and have them thrown without any formula into the rivers, where they become food for the crocodiles and the sharks.

It is a saddening consideration, the primary fact which starts up before us in our review of social and domestic life in Western Africa, that all the women, be they daughters or wives of kings, chiefs, or wealthy traders, are *bonâ fide* slaves; not even permitted to protest against the disposal of their fate by the stronger sex, whether it be of death or dishonour. An entirely different condition of affairs is recorded by Dr. Livingstone as existing on the east coast of Africa. He tells us that amongst one tribe it is the custom, when a man marries a woman of a neighbouring village, that he should go to her house to live with his wife, and that the chief occupation of his matrimonial condition was to carry home fire-wood for his mother-in-law. In another district, the doctor found a rule of civil jurisdiction which you will allow to be rather peculiar to African society. There, whenever a woman assaulted her husband, she was brought to the market-place to be tried in the Palaver House, and, if found guilty (as it pains me to confess was *sometimes* the case), her sentence decreed as punishment that she should carry her husband home on her back. This, however, by the peculiar logic of the sex, became converted into a triumph; for, as she went along, women's heads were thrust out at the different doors by which she passed, and female voices ex-

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claimed with energy—"Give it to him again! give it to him again! give it to him again!"

The statement which you all may have seen in the papers a short time back, in reference to the sacrifice by Badahung, King of Dahomey, is but the superlative of a condition of affairs of daily occurrence, amongst many of the West Coast tribes. For sacrifice is an established institution with those people, whether it be of a social, a superstitious, a governmental, or a reprisal character. To explain what I mean by a social sacrifice, I may relate that on the Gold Coast it is a custom with natives of position and wealth to purchase a young slave of their own sex, or sometimes to select one from amongst those previously in the house, and to bestow on him or her the title of "*Crabbah*" or "*Ocrah*," the meaning of which is, that the slave thus entitled is in future to be looked on as the soul or spirit, or *Alter ego*, of the master or mistress.

These favoured persons wear a chain of gold or white beads around the neck, to which is attached a large medallion of gold to denote their rank. They are treated with great indulgence so long as they behave well. In Ashantee, the favourite "*Ocrahs*" of the great men are slaughtered on the death of their masters, it being considered necessary that they should accompany them to the next world. A similar wholesale slaughter of slaves, with a like intention, takes place in Old Kalabar, on the death of any great man, and the King of Dahomey thinks the highest honour he can pay to an European visitor, is to have a *battû* of sixty or seventy negroes for his entertainment before breakfast.

At the mouths of several of the Palm Oil Rivers, in former times (even of those of Brass and New Kalabar at the present), there existed the custom to sacrifice an Albino female child to the sharks, which were considered the ju-ju of these rivers. No case has ever been recorded of any such victim objecting to her fate; for they are indoctrinated with the belief that in the world of spirits to which they are going, it is their destiny to be married to a white man.

Amongst the greater portion of the tribes contiguous to those rivers is found a curious kind of *similia similibus* principle, in the fact that whatever species of death is inflicted by a murderer, exactly the same fashion is dispensed towards him when he is brought to capital punishment. For example: a ju-ju king was murdered a few years ago by a madman, in New Kalabar, who cut his wrist as well as stabbed him in the body, and although the murderer was shot whilst endeavouring to conceal himself in a tree, as soon as he fell to the ground, his wrist was cut, and his body stabbed likewise by those who

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were in pursuit of him. The same custom is carried out even to the fact of eating a man, if the person for whose murder he is punished has been also devoured.

Although the natives of New Kalabar had a great faith in that ju-ju king, ranking him on all state occasions before their civil monarch, King Amakree, they held in higher reverence a superior spirit supposed to exist in part of the Oru country, some three months journey from Kalabar, and in a direction trending towards Aboh, up the river Niger. It is entitled by them, when speaking of it to an Englishman, "*the long ju-ju country.*" Parties are sent there to pass through an ordeal for serious crimes. It is believed that the ju-ju of that place, who is supposed to be a female, knows *everything*—and it may be unnecessary for me to state, for the information of my lady hearers, that she is not the only woman since the days of Dido and Diana who was entitled to the possession of a like qualification—knows everything, the names of all the ships in the river, the merchants to whom they belong, and the supercargoes engaged in trading operations. The district in which this Delphic oracle is supposed to reside, is described as a species of amphitheatre, surrounded by hills. As soon as the accused arrives near a certain bush, only two persons at a time (the accuser and the accused) being allowed to approach the sacred precincts; the former makes the charge in a loud tone. The latter is then called on by some mysterious voice to say if he be guilty or not; of course the plea of innocence is invariably advanced, whereupon the culprit is told to go back. The simple people of Kalabar, who have never been there, profess to believe that if the man be innocent he can retire without any impediment; but if he be really guilty, that in spite of his denial, his feet become glued to the ground, when water springs up, rising, rising, rising gradually till it overtops him, remaining stationary above his head till he is drowned; then as the water sinks again into the earth, it draws him with it by some kind of mysterious cohesive attraction, leaving his head over its surface.

The mighty network of ju-juism or fetishism is too extensive in its ramifications to be unravelled in a single lecture. Through all the districts where it prevails, it exists as the basis of the social and domestic brutalities, not even excepting the festivals of cannibalism; for here the ju-ju king is the preparatory butcher of the feast. In the old Kalabar district, we find an order, or institution, termed Egbo, on which the governmental foundations are based; the word is derived from Ekpe, the Efik name of tiger. The king, chiefs, and freemen are members of the Egbo fraternity, and it, in fact, constitutes

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the ruling power of the country as much as the queen, lords, and commons do with us. There are eleven grades of it, the three higher of which are not, under any circumstances, obtainable by slaves.

In former times the Egbo title was entirely confined to freemen; the second or third generation of a slave born within the pale of an Egbo man's dwelling being partly liberated by the fact, and allowed to purchase his freedom (if he had the means) after his master's death.

Of the ceremonials of initiation into its mysteries, nothing is known; but every eighth day a man goes about the town during Egbo meeting, dressed in disguise to simulate a spirit, and he has leave to flog every slave, man, woman, or child, whom he meets to his heart's content, in order to keep the system *in terrorem* over the heads of the serf population. The Abiadiong, or sorcerer, of Old Kalabar, who receives his authority from the Egbo magnates, is the domestic tyrant, from whose despotic power no one is safe, unless those who are able to pay him well.

His functions may be thus explained. No death of any king, chief, or man of great importance ever takes place in Old Kalabar, in which the charge of *Ifod*, or witchcraft, is not made against some person; for these people having no knowledge of death from physical causes, every occurrence of this kind is attributed to sorcery.

Then an Egbo meeting is called by proclamation of the town crier, and the nearest relative points out whatever number of persons he or she may wish to have tested as suspects. The accused are therefore condemned to the Afia, or ordeal of the esere (poison bean), which is supposed to kill only the guilty, and to be innocuous to the innocent. It is administered by the Abidiong. Of the value of its harmless character, you may see a very good account in the *Monthly Journal of Medicine*, for March 1855, in an article by Professor Christison, of Edinburgh, in which that gentleman records the fact of having nearly poisoned himself by experiments with it, upon his own person. So that, in truth, the bean being a deadly poison, the chance to those who take it, of escaping death, is about equal to what it was in former times in England, when an old woman was tested for witchcraft by being thrown into a pond, with the comforting alternative that if she sank and was drowned, she was declared innocent; whereas, if she floated, her buoyancy should be considered *prima facie* evidence of her guilt, and so she must die.

At Kalabar, as on other parts of the coast, they have a triennial purification of the towns, which is styled "*Indok*,"

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and which is considered as a means of expelling evil spirits. It is effected by having fabricated an immense number of figures, biped and quadruped, compounded of straw, of rags, and of sticks, into which the vagrant spirits are expected to be conjured to take refuge. These figures are entitled "*Nabikems*" in the Efik language. On the day of the final ejectment, every man in the town considers it his duty to get drunk, probably another illustration of the *similia similibus* principle. Guns are fired, fearful screamings are heard everywhere during the last day and night, and amidst howlings you might imagine had their origin in Pandemonium, the effigies are set fire to, and thrown into the river.

As a curious illustration of domestic therapeutics, I have to record that in old Kalabar, perhaps for a long time antecedent to Franklin's having obtained electricity from the clouds, the women have been accustomed to use the electric fish as a remedial agent, by putting two or three of these into a tub of cold water, and then immersing in the tub a child affected with fits or colic. I need scarcely add that the contact of the child with the electric influence is always secured by the aid of the person administering the bath. Dr. Wilson, of Edinburgh, who read a paper on the subject, in the Natural History Section of the British Association, at Dublin, during the meeting of August 1857, believes it to be of the same genus as the Silurus or Malapterurus of the Nile.

It must strike all students of nature, as an illustration of the universality of established customs (be they savage or civilized) the following superstition. Amongst the Efik tribe, who, as I have already stated, are the aboriginal residents in Old Kalabar, there exists a practice of cooking food and leaving it on the table of a fabric, entitled a "devil house," which is erected near the grave of a man or woman. This food being cooked, is placed there in calabashes; and it is believed that the spirit of the deceased, with those of his or her fellow-travellers of butchered serfs, frequently come to partake of it in their journey to the world of spirits, whither they are supposed to be travelling.

From recent explorations made amongst the Figi Islands, in the Pacific Ocean, by Dr. Berthold Seeman, it appears that an exactly similar custom exists with the aborigines there, who are of a tribe about which ethnologists differ; but, at all events, having no consanguinity or other communication with the negroes of Western Africa. Dr. Seeman writes, "The path led through numerous taro, banana, and yam plantations, and close to an altar, made of sticks and native cloth, on which food for the spirits of the dead was placed. The mass of Figians will have

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it that these offerings are consumed by the spirits of their departed friends and relations, who are supposed to have great supernatural influence."

When any man or woman dies in Bonny, he or she is politely spoken of to an Englishman as "*gone for devilly.*" Amongst these people, as indeed with all the tribes in the Bight of Biafra, a custom exists of putting into the grave with the dead body a quantity of valuable things, as of coral, cloth, beads, looking glasses, and so forth. It is only the aristocracy of the native palm oil traders who make use of the coral. I remember on one occasion, seeing a trader coming on board a palm oil hulk, with whose supercargo he had been in treaty for a valuable bunch of coral, to put into the grave with his mother, whose death was expected every day. On the supercargo having asked him why he had not brought the oil for the purchase of the coral, he replied, with a very disappointed tone, "Tshi, I be too sorry, mother get well—she no go for devilly yet;" a remark not very expressive of tenderness towards his parent.

At Old Kalabar, too, we find, in the present day, a manner of dressing the hair after a style exactly similar to that which is condemned by Dr. Hall, in a little work published in the middle of the seventeenth century (1643), *On the Loathsomeness of Long Haire*, as having been the fashion in those days amongst the citizens of London. So that the belles and beaux of Old Kalabar are now just as artistic in the science of the perruquier as were our ancestors two hundred years ago. Although differences may be considered as existing in some social traits, which I have already described, between the tribes of the East and West Coast, yet, when we investigate the minutiæ of their domestic superstitions, we find a scarcely perceptible distinction, save in the degrees of brutality. Dr. Livingstone records that amongst the Bakaa and Bakwain tribes, a child who cuts its upper front teeth before the lower ones is put to death. Such a practice I know to exist at Aboh and Old Kalabar, on the West Coast; and I believe the custom owes its origin to the idea that this primary development of the upper teeth is believed to indicate powers of precocity sufficient to bring all the tribe of the young genius into trouble.

Dr. Livingstone likewise records that in some localities a case of twins renders one of them liable to death, and that an ox which, while lying in the pen, beats the ground with his tail, is slaughtered, because he is supposed to be calling on death to visit the tribe. On the West Coast, they have a refinement in the brutality for a case of twins; for there both infants are buried alive, whilst the mother is banished from

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society for the remainder of her life, and obliged to eke out her subsistence in the bush.

The mode in which punishment for murder is inflicted by the aboriginals of Fernando Po is the cruel plan of tying the murderer to his victim, by means of withes plucked from trees, and throwing both bodies into the woods, where the culprit remains without anything to eat or drink till death puts an end to his sufferings. I saw it recently stated, in an article on Cherbourg in *All the Year Round* (the number I forget), that the first articles of war instituted in England by Richard Cœur de Lion contain a code within them somewhat similar to this, viz., that of lashing a murderer to the body of his victim, and flinging both of them into the sea. It was only within the last two years of my connection with Western Africa that I became cognisant of the fact of cannibalism existing there in the present day. The first assurance I had of it was from Mr. Oates, a supercargo, in the New Kalabar River, who detailed for me the facts which had come to his own knowledge, of three men and a boy having been killed and eaten on shore at the chief town of that district in the year 1858.

I have, during the last year, seen it stated in a Sierra Leone newspaper, on the authority of Mr. Priddy, a missionary of the Countess of Huntingdon's connection in that colony, *not that he had heard of*, but that *he had seen* hampers of dried human flesh carried about on men's backs to be sold for eating purposes, in the progress of a recent civil war between the Soosoo and Timney tribes. It may be unnecessary for me to remind my hearers, in mentioning the fact of this statement having been made at the sixty-seventh anniversary meeting of that missionary body, that this occurrence took place at a colony in connection with which our Government has expended upwards of eight millions of money, and an incalculable number of martyrs, to the idea of liberating and civilising the negro.

Information was conveyed to me about the same time I read the foregoing, that the people of Bonny, where British commerce has been exercising its supposed civilizing influences for half a century, had sworn ju-ju (a title which is given to their most solemn oath-taking) to exterminate the Obetta tribe by eating them; and to put aside all doubts of the existence of cannibalism in the present day, I myself was witness, in the course of last year, to a sacrifice for a cannibalistic feast, the details of which are too long to introduce here. They may be found by those who are interested in such horrors in my work, *Ten Years Wanderings amongst the Ethiopians*, lately published by Messrs. Hurst and Blackett. To give you an

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example as to how little of human sensibility is possessed by those people in regard of their horrible anthropophagy, I can assure you of a fact in connection with one of their reprisal executions for cannibalistic purposes, that occurred during the temporary stay of Mrs. Hutchinson and myself at Bonny. We were stopping on board a palm-oil hulk, when one morning there came to the vessel, for some trading object, the very identical ju-ju man whom I had seen at his bloody work some time previous, and to witness whose savagery I had to adopt a concealment near the public place of execution. It seems that he had repeated this operation on the day before the visit now recorded; and on Captain Straw, who had charge of the hulk, asking him how he could dare to look in the face of a white lady, who had heard of his eating the head of a man the day before (for I must tell you that the head is a part claimed as a tit-bit by the executioner), he replied, with the most imperturbable *sang froid*, expressive of profound contempt for all the culinary art in the world, "*I no eat him, for my cook done spoil him; he no put nuff pepper on him*"; which I need scarcely interpret for you was a tirade against his Monsieur Soyer not putting enough of the piquant in the dressing.

To point out to you another phase of this depraved condition of existence, I may mention, that I have been informed of a tribe living interior to Coriseo, who come down to the sea shore for the purpose of eating any they can catch of those living near the sea, because they believe, these have got a briny, therefore a relishable flavour. This may be defined to be the epicurism of cannibalism, which however is carried out to the pitch of abomination by the Pangwe tribe, who dwell in the country interior to Gaboon, and who are reported to me to bury the dead bodies of their enemies for a week before they are to be eaten,—I suppose in order to give them what is known amongst our epicures at home as "a gamy flavour."

I trust that no one of my present auditors will consider me presumptuous enough to assume an attempt at controverting the opinion of a philosopher whose memory I hold in the highest reverence,—believing him to have been one of God's nobility, namely, the illustrious Baron Von Humboldt. But in candour I must confess to you, that I cannot make some of his ideas coincide with what has come under my own observation in Western Africa, more especially with the facts just recorded. In the first volume of his *Cosmos*, the following passage occurs:—"Whilst we maintain the unity of the human species, we at the same time repel the depressing assumption of superior and inferior races of men. There are nations more susceptible of cultivation, more highly civilized, more ennobled by mental

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cultivation than others, but none in themselves nobler than others." This reasoning puzzles one when thinking over the doings of cannibals. There may be advanced a palliation for the deeds of the American Indians in their scalping of those who fell in their power by the fortunes of raid and foray. A plea may be, perhaps, allowed for the atrocities committed by the sepoys in the late Indian rebellion, urged on as they were by the despotic creed of Islamism.

But the thirst for each other's blood, which seems a daily habit amongst so many of the negro tribes in Western Africa, appears to me to be incompatible with ordinary notions of common humanity.

Although I do not deny that a few,—the *rari nantes in gurgite vasto*,—have manifested an intellectual capacity equal to white men, still even those who for scores of years have been intermingling in social intercourse with European missionaries and traders (mostly Englishmen) cling yet to their gris-gris jujus, fetishism and cannibalism with as much pertinacity as they did many hundred years ago. Perhaps, it might be assumed that their languages assimilating the practises of their daily lives with their natural organisation, may have something to do with this adherence to old brutalities. It may be needless for me to express my belief that the axiom laid down by Archbishop Whately, "*No savage tribe has ever yet been known to work out*, per se, *the accomplishment of its own civilization*," is not at all applicable to those people; for here we have all the appliances of our arts, our sciences, and our Christianity, returning little better fruit than did the wheat in the parable that was sown amongst the briars and the thorns. To attempt civilizing such a race before they are humanized, appears to me beginning at the wrong end. I have passed many an hour in cogitating and endeavouring to fabricate some sort of education likely to root out the fell spirit that dictates to human sacrifices and cannibalism; but I fear ages must elapse before any educational principle in its simplest form can produce an amendment on temperaments such as they possess. The few British stations on the coast, and the paucity of missionaries amongst the immense population (a hundred and fifty millions) of Africa's continent, although producing beneficial results within their limited spheres, are but as drops in the ocean of Ethiopian darkness and barbarity, whose continuance or abolition is in the hands of *Him* to whom alone the book of futurity lies open.

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XXVI.—*Observations on a Systematic Mode of Craniometry.*

By George Busk, F.R.S., F.L.S., etc.

In the following observations, I can claim but little originality, seeing that the system of measurements of the cranium proposed for adoption, or rather, on the present occasion, for discussion, differs but little except in amplification from that propounded by Professor v. Baer, in a paper in the *Mémoires de l'Acad. Imp. des Sciences de St. Petersburg*, 6me ser., t. viii, in which he describes the characters of various Asiatic and other crania, contained in the anthropological collection in that city. To these measurements I shall afterwards refer.

But before entering upon the immediate subject I am desirous of bringing before the Ethnological Society, I would premise a few words respecting the present value of craniometry in the study of ethnology; that is to say, as to the assistance we may thence derive in the distinguishing of the varieties of the human race. For, whatever opinions may be entertained on the subject of unity or plurality of the human species, it cannot for a moment be denied that permanent, and in their extreme forms, well marked *varieties* of men have existed from all historic times, and are found at the present day, on the face of the earth. That these varieties are distinguished by well marked physical and important psychical characters, cannot be denied. Our object, however, on the present occasion, is simply to inquire into the value of a single character selected from the former category, and whether, and how far, this single character can be relied upon, in the absence of others, to enable us to distinguish one variety of mankind from another.

One reason for the selection of the cranium for this purpose, arises from the circumstance that, of all the individual portions of the bony skeleton, none in the first place is so thoroughly characteristic of man; and secondly, because there is none, speaking generally, which presents such well marked diversities in different races of mankind.

In viewing any collection of crania, the most unobservant will be struck with the fact that the specimens, if sufficiently numerous, may be divided into groups marked with distinctive characters. One set of skulls will be found nearly or quite as broad as they are long, whilst in another the length will considerably exceed the breadth. In some the jaw, with the teeth, or the lower part of the face, will be seen to project, so as to approach the elongated muzzle of an ape, whilst in others the perpendicular profile will, from old associations, persuade us that we are looking upon a more perfect or elevated type.

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These broad distinctions, and several others, such as a greater or less height, an oval or oblong, a triangular or rounded outline of the cranium when viewed from above, a greater or less width and difference in position of the cheek bones, a uniformly arched or a pyramidal form to the upper part of the skull—all these characters will be obvious enough to the casual observer; and when he is told that these various forms have been found by observation to be peculiar to particular races or to particular regions, and that, so far as investigation has extended, they are as permanent and as unalterable by external conditions as any other characters that can be pointed out, no one will deny that it is an important problem in the natural history of man to determine how far these and other less obvious characters may be so expressed as, in the absence of the objects themselves, to enable others to appreciate them; and so defined as to admit of accurate or approximately accurate comparison *inter se*.

The present attempt is justified, perhaps, by the fact that at the present time, as is said by Professor Wagner, in a recent memoir on this subject, "we possess no exact methods of estimating the morphological relations of the cranium, or of expressing them in clear and definite terms."

This deficiency has not arisen, however, from want of attempts to carry out such a design, but, as it seems to me, from the methods never having been conceived in sufficiently general terms.

The study of the human cranium, in an ethnological sense, is a recent one, and may be said to date from Blumenbach: that eminent physiologist, however, was contented with a survey of the general form of the skull, and appears to have devoted little or no attention to any systematic measurement of its dimensions. Since his time, various modes of measuring the cranium, and of ascertaining its capacity, have been proposed for different purposes. Some very ingenious, but most of them so complicated and inapplicable, except for the special purposes in view of the proposer, that it may truly be said, as asserted by Professor Wagner, that we are as yet without a generally adopted mode of making comparative craniometrical measurements.

Since Blumenbach, the most important researches on the subject of ethnological craniology have been those of Professor Retzius of Stockholm, whose early death science has recently had to deplore, and of the illustrious Professor v. Baer of St. Petersburgh, in whose steps I began by saying I was but a humble follower.*

One important benefit was conferred upon craniology by Professor Retzius in the proposal of terms, since almost univer-

* Davis, Van der Hoeven, and others.

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sally adopted, by which certain of the more strongly marked of the varieties of crania, I have before adverted to, are commonly designated. It is to him that we owe the terms *brachycephalic* and *dolichocephalic*, with their respective modifications of *orthognathic* and *prognathic*, and under which, in a certain sense, all the forms of human crania may be classified. His great merits in other departments of ethnology it would be out of place here to touch upon.

Useful as these terms have been found, as expressing a certain collection of facts, it cannot be denied that they are wanting in precision. Professor Retzius nowhere, so far as I am aware, gives any terms or figures by which the proportions constituting a dolichocephalic or a brachycephalic cranium can be distinguished, nor any strict criterion which may determine an observer, in a doubtful case, to place a cranium in the one class or the other; and the same may be said of the varying degrees of height of the cranium, of prognathism, zygomatic width, and so on. One object I have had in view in the scheme of measurements now proposed, is that precise numerical values should be employed in place of words, in speaking of the proportions of a cranium; or, at any rate, that any term employed should be associated with some given numerical value.

This idea, or something like it, though I cannot find that he has openly expressed it, appears to have been entertained by Professor v. Baer, who seems to have been the first to express the proportions, or some of the proportions, of a cranium in terms of a common module. It is only recently, upon consulting his memoir above referred to, that I was aware of this fact, and I have been gratified in finding that I was preceded by so eminent a guide in the selection of the length of the cranium as the module in question. It will readily be seen that by the adoption of this plan, though whether the length or any other dimension, the standard of measure may be left for the present undetermined, the comparative length or shortness of a skull may be accurately expressed in figures. As, for instance, assuming the length as the standard, crania as regards their length may be said to have the breadth as ·6, ·7, ·8 or ·9 of the length, the two former numbers actually embracing all the crania hitherto classed under the dolichocephalic type, whilst under the two latter will be found included all the so-termed brachycephalic skulls. By reference again to the same module, the degree of prognathism, or of occipital projection, of height, of zygomatic breadth and so on, may also readily be expressed, and placed in columns in a table, so that the comparison of one set of forms with another, and their average values, may be seen at a glance.

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Professor v. Baer divides his table of measurements into 13, or, more properly speaking, into 19 columns, thus arranged:

1. The length of the cranium, measured from the glabella to the most prominent point of the occiput, unless that happen to be an inordinately developed spine.

2. Its height, measured from the plane of the foramen magnum to the highest part of the vertex.

3. The width, measured wherever it may be greatest; the position of this part being indicated by the point in a vertical line, drawn from the centre of the auditory foramen to the vertex, notice also being taken whether it be before or behind this line.

4. The width of the frontal bone, at the narrowest, that is to say, at the anterior, and at the widest part.

5. The parietal breadth, measured from one parietal protuberance to the other.

6. The zygomatic breadth.

7. The horizontal circumference of the cranium.

8. The vertical arch, as he terms it, subdivided into three portions; but for what reason he has adopted the peculiar subdivisions he has, I cannot explain.

9. What he terms the *longitudo racheos*, or *longitudo corporum vertebrarum* ex quibus calvarium constitutum est. This means the distance from the anterior border of the foramen magnum to the fronto-nasal sature.

10. The transverse circumference of the calvarium at the junction of the parietal and occipital regions, indicated (*a*) by a line drawn round the occiput on a level with, and, I presume, slanting from the centre of the auditory foramen to the other. (*b.*) The transverse diameter or greatest chord of the occipital arc.

11. The distance from the centre of the auditory foramen to the middle of the glabella, and from the same point in the auditory foramen to the most distant part of the occiput. The comparison of these measures "indicates," he says, "the evolution of the occiput."*

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* In their admirable work, the *Crania Britannica*, Messrs. Davis and Thurnam employ the following measurements: 1. Horizontal circumference; 2. Longitudinal diameter; 3. Frontal region—(*a*) length, (*b*) breadth, (*c*) height; 4. Parietal region—(*a*) length, (*b*) breadth, (*c*) height; 5. Occipital region—(*a*) length, (*b*) breadth, (*c*) height; 5. Intermastoid arch; 6. Internal capacity; 7. Face—(*a*) length, (*b*) breadth. Most of the above will be found included in my scheme; the only omission of importance in that, perhaps, being the internal capacity; but this, I think, is hardly worth the trouble of ascertaining. The chief point, as it seems to me, being to determine the relative dimensions of the three great cranial regions. The gross capacity varies, of course, according to the size of skull, which may differ very widely, even in well marked crania, of one and the

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I will now proceed to describe the measures I have been led to adopt, and it will be seen that my system is in a great degree borrowed from, and coincides with, that of Professor v. Baer, though the principles upon which they are respectively based are not, perhaps, exactly identical. What I have had chiefly in view was to continue to place in as few columns as possible such measurements as might be readily made, for the most part, even in imperfect skulls, and what may yet suffice to shew,

1. The proportions of the entire *cranium*, as regards *length*, *breadth*, and *height*.

2. The comparative capacity, or size rather, of the *frontal*, *parietal*, and *occipital* regions, corresponding to the main divisions of the brain.

3. The degree of pro-or orthognathism, and of the occipital projection, and, inferentially, to indicate the position of the *foramen magnum*; and

4. By the comparison of two measures, that is to say, of the length of the nasal radius (mihi), (*cranial vertebral axis*, v. Baer), with that of the maxillary radius, to arrive at some notion of the facial angle, which, without the aid of a complicated and expensive apparatus, such as the ingenious instrument of M. Jacquart, it is difficult, if not, in some cases, impossible, to estimate with any approach to accuracy.

The measurements I propose may be arranged in a tabular form in 23 columns, beyond which several others may be left for the insertion of the *proportions* of the various dimensions to each other, calculated in terms of a common standard or module, for which, as before said, the *length* of the cranium may be conveniently taken.

Besides these, in some printed tables drawn up by myself and the late Professor Quekett, five more columns are added, for the facial angle and the various proportions of the lower jaw, upon which Professor Quekett placed considerable value.

The first 14 columns contain all the measures which require a single instrument fitted to measure the distances between two points in a straight line. Various contrivances, of course, may be used for this purpose, such as callipers, compasses, etc.; but in practice I have found that the proceeding is much facilitated

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same race, depending, in great measure, upon the stature, or size, of the individual. Thus, the Negroes of the Cape de Verd Islands, who are generally very tall and strong men, and several races of continental Negroes of large size, have very capacious crania, in which, however, the Ethiopian character is as well expressed as in the smaller ones.

Many other lists of measures might be given; but I have stated enough to show that, at present, no uniform system has been adopted by Ethnologists in general.

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by the employment of a simple instrument constructed on the principle of a common shoemaker's gauge, and consisting of a straight stem about twelve inches long, having an arm jointed to it at one end, which can be opened out to an exact right angle, and a second arm which can be slid up and down the stem, also at a right angle. These arms should be about six inches long, and the whole should be made sufficiently strong and rigid that the parallelism of the arms may be perfectly maintained under moderate pressure upon an object placed between them towards their free ends. The best material, as being the lightest, is boxwood; and I have found that a width of about one inch, and the thickness of an ordinary foot rule, are quite sufficient. The stem should be graduated in inches and tenths on one side, and in centimeters and millimeters on the other, so that either the English or the French measure may be used *ad libitum*. The graduation, of course, should commence from the fixed arm. Each arm should also be graduated in the same manner, the graduation starting from the stem. With this simple craniometer all the measurements in the first columns may be very quickly taken. But it will be convenient to say a few words respecting what I have termed the *radial* measures. In making these measures, as for other purposes afterwards to be adverted to, I, following v. Baer, take the centre of the *external auditory foramen* as the starting point. In order to ensure accuracy in the length of the radial line, it is, of course, necessary that it should be measured in a direction parallel to the vertical longitudinal plane of the skull, and this I have found can only be done with facility and correctness in one of the following ways:—It may be done either by fixing a small conical cork in each auditory foramen, supporting a needle in its centre, which will project about an inch from the side of the skull. If the craniometer with both arms at a right angle to the stem be then placed with the stem upon the point to which the radial line is to be measured, and the arms are brought down on each side over the auditory openings, the needles on either side ought to point to the same degree of the scale on each arm if the arms are parallel to the mesial vertical plane, and the degree pointed at will be the radius sought; or 2, a small sliding piece may be made to fit on each arm, having a conical plug, to be inserted into each auditory opening, which will answer the same purpose as the cork and needle, with perhaps greater certainty.

The measurements in the next nine columns are all made with the measuring tape. The manner of taking them is too obvious to require any special remark.

But another part of the subject, in my opinion even of

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greater importance than the taking of measurements, is a method of making such *delineations* of the cranium as may be relied upon for its accurate comparison with others. Of the numerous, and many of them admirable, representations of human crania hitherto published, few or none that I have seen suffice to show the actual forms and dimensions in such a way that direct comparisons can be made between different figures in these particulars.

The object, as it seems to me, to be held in view in preparing figures of crania for ethnological or similar scientific purposes, is, 1, that the cranium should invariably be represented in a certain defined position; 2, that it should be drawn either of the natural size, or reduced to a given proportion, alike in all cases; 3, that so many figures should be given as, without any perspective, may afford a sufficient idea of the outline of a section of the cranium in the three dimensions of *length*, *breadth*, and *height*, together with a view of the *face* as seen in front, and of the *base* regarded as in a horizontal plane. Five figures of a skull, consequently, are indispensably requisite to afford an adequate idea of its conformation and dimensions, so far as that can be derived from any mere delineation.

The above objects I have endeavoured to carry out in the following manner:—

1. *Position of the Cranium.* Stretch the measuring tape from the centre of the left auditory opening to the junction of the sagittal and coronal sutures, and along it draw a pencil line. This line, which, so far as I know, was first suggested by l'Abbé Frère, may be assumed to represent the *vertical line*, and it serves as the invariable standard of position.

2. A line at right angles with the vertical, and crossing it at the centre of the auditory foramen, I regard as the *horizontal* or *base line* of the cranium; and it will be found to coincide pretty nearly with the base line of most writers, and to be nearly coincident in most cases with the floor of the nostrils. Any remarkable deviation in this respect will be worthy of remark.

With respect to the size of which crania should be represented, convenience alone would suggest that one below the natural should be adopted; and, for all the purposes contemplated in this paper, it would appear that they will be answered by figures half the size of nature as well as by larger ones, which, though occupying four times the space, are not a whit more useful, nor, in fact, more natural, when we consider the usual distance at which a skull and a drawing of a skull are respectively viewed. I therefore propose that all figures of crania should be drawn to a scale exactly one-half

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the size of nature.* The cranium then being placed by any convenient contrivance with the vertical line perpendicular, and with its left side towards the observer, the camera lucida is placed at the proper distance, and so and at such a height that the centre of the prism is opposite the vertical line, and on a level with a spot midway between the base of the skull and the vertex. The side view having been thus taken, and found by actual measurement to agree with the truth, the skull is turned round in the same horizontal plane and level, so that the back is presented to view, and at such a distance that the breadth in the figure is found by measurement to agree with the actual greatest breadth; the figure when drawn will therefore represent the transverse vertical section of the skull at its widest part, as the former shows its longitudinal section. Without otherwise altering the position of the cranium upon its support, it is then turned round so as to present the face to the observer, and placed at such a distance from the camera that the measured distance between the external orbital processes of the frontal bone agrees with the figure thrown on the paper by the camera. The drawing, in this position, affords a view of the shape and comparative height of the forehead, the form of the orbits, and of the nasal opening, etc. The skull is now to be placed and supported on the occiput, the vertical line being made horizontal, and the centre of the prism made to coincide with the level of the vertical point—that is to say, the junction of the sagittal and coronal sutures. In this position, figures are taken, 1, of the vertical view, the outline corresponding by measure with the greatest breadth; and 2, of the base (without the lower jaw), which latter view is taken at such a distance that the space between the points of the mastoid processes is found by measure to agree with the figure projected on the paper. This aspect will present the shape and width of the maxillary arch, the position and form of the foramen magnum, etc.

I cannot conclude without apologizing for the length of time I have occupied your attention upon so dry a subject; but have thought that, to make it of any interest, or the discussion of any utility, it was necessary to enter into minute details which could not fail to be tedious in the recital, though requisite for the full understanding of what I was desirous of bringing before the Society.

* It is my intention shortly to bring out the first decade of "*Crania Typica*," with a view of showing the way in which this plan might be carried out.

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XXVII.—*Native Australian Traditions.*

By R. H. Major, Esq.

My dear Sir,—Although the subject announced for this evening as emanating from me is described as "Native Australian Traditions", I think it right that I should, at the opening of this letter, repeat what I have already stated to you, that I am not prepared myself to communicate any information on those traditions, but am anxious to learn whether any member of the Society, who has visited or resided in Australia, is aware of the existence of such traditions in connection with the early discovery of the country. But, in order that I may show you that I have a cause as well as a motive for propounding such a question, I will take leave to relate to you how the possibility, for I regard it as no more, of such a tradition existing, was suggested to my mind.

It happened some three months ago that I had the good fortune to light upon a MS. mappemonde in the British Museum, in which, on the north-west corner of a country which, apart from its position, bore other unquestionable evidence of being Australia, was written the following legend in Portuguese: "Nuca antara" (doubtless a local geographical name, for the translation of which by any member of the Society I shall be grateful), "Nuca antara was discovered in the year 1601 by Manoel Godinho de Eredia, by command of the Viceroy Ayres de Saldanha." This carried the date of the first authenticated discovery of Australia five years farther back than the earliest discovery previously recognized in history, and transferred the honour of that discovery beyond all question from Holland to Portugal. I had subsequently the honour of preparing and reading before the Society of Antiquaries a paper containing the announcement of this discovery, and describing the position which it took in the history of supposed and authenticated discoveries of Australia. I say supposed, as well as authenticated discoveries, because I think there can be no doubt that that important country had really been discovered some sixty or seventy years earlier, while surmises had been advanced of its having been discovered even four hundred years before. It is to this latter point that I shall have presently to ask your attention.

Upon my mentioning to my friend Captain Burton the new find that I had made, he informed me, to my surprise, that in Australia the honour of the first authenticated discovery was attributed to the Spaniards, and referred me to a small work, entitled *The Gold Colonies of Australia*, by G. Butler Earp,

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which, he assured me, had a very large circulation in that country. On examining the book, I found that near the beginning it contained an account of the early voyages to that country sufficiently full and detailed, and given, whether right or wrong, with so much positiveness of assertion as to be highly calculated to impose on the credulity of an uncritical reader.

Now, sir, I should think myself very unworthily occupied, were I to presume to trouble you or the Ethnological Society with a mere criticism on a compilation of the kind, however large its circulation and fallacious its statements, were it not that one of those statements involved a possibility which, if correct, would be of the highest interest, and that I think that no possibility of gaining information should be allowed to pass by without investigation. I shall, therefore, briefly state that the claim so positively asserted on behalf of the Spaniards was based on the unconscious passage of Torres through the strait, which in consequence received its name from him at the hands of Alexander Dalrymple, at the close of the last century. Now, not only was the passage of Torres through the strait made by him unconsciously, but it was not, in fact, the earliest authenticated sighting of the coast of Australia, inasmuch as it took place in August 1606, whereas the Dutch yacht the *Duyfhen* passed from New Guinea southward along the islands on the west side of Torres Strait, a little to the west and south of Cape York, about the month of March in the same year. This latter, therefore, was the earliest authenticated discovery recorded in history until it was supplanted by that which I have already described as made by the Portuguese in 1601, as I had the good fortune to find about three months since.

But I now come to the assertion, made with equal positiveness and assurance, of the yet earlier discovery by the Chinese, four hundred years before. It is expressed in the following terms: "Previous to De Gama's discovery of the Cape route, a chart was in existence which had been drawn up by Marco Polo, and in this was indicated the position of a 'Great South Land,' of the existence of which he had been informed during his sojourn among the Chinese, to whom, no doubt, belongs the honour of the first discovery of Australia, there being not only tradition to this effect amongst the aborigines, but circumstantial evidence of the most conclusive kind. One instance of this occurred during the past year (1851), viz., the finding of Chinese oars and other nautical implements at a considerable depth beneath the surface of the ground; thus fully confirming the native traditions, as also the long period which must have elapsed since their visit, from the accumulation of alluvial deposit over the evidences themselves. The natives state that their Chinese visitors were murdered."

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Now it is, perhaps, a bold thing to hazard a negative assertion; but, I think, I may be courageous enough to ask any of the Fellows of the Ethnological Society if they ever heard of a chart made by Marco Polo, and that without much fear of being answered in the affirmative. I shall only be too happy to learn that such a chart exists, at the expense of betraying my ignorance. It is true that Ramusio supposed that the famous map of Fra Mauro, at Venice, was copied from an original brought by Marco Polo from Kataia; but this has been distinctly confuted by Cardinal Zurla. Dr. Vincent also speaks of a map in the Doge's Palace at Venice, drawn up for the elucidation of Marco Polo's travels, but says that from internal evidence it was later than 1550; and Marsden, who examined it, was satisfied that it had no pretensions to be considered as the work of Marco Polo. Indeed Dr. Vincent particularly expressed his regret that we have no genuine map that can be traced to Marco Polo. This, however, I can say, that from the written narrative of Marco Polo, maps were framed by the Dutch at the close of the sixteenth century, which, by the adoption of a whole constellation of ludicrous blunders, which it would be tedious to attempt to detail, did, as if by a miracle, pourtray the real country of Australia in its legitimate position, but as part of an immense southern continent pervading the entire south of the globe. It is just possible, but I have not been able to bridge over the chasm so as to verify the fact, that the makers of these maps had cognizance of that veritable discovery which had been made, as I believe, by the Portuguese at the commencement of that century, as shown by some most curious French MS. maps of that period. It is certain that there is no specific indication of such assistance to their information indicated in the Dutch maps to which I have alluded. The passage in Marco Polo is as follows:

"Upon leaving the island of Java, and steering a course between south and south-west seven hundred miles, you fall in with two islands, the larger of which is named Sondur, and the other Kondur. Both being uninhabited, it is unnecessary to say more respecting them. Having run the distance of fifty miles from these islands, in a south-easterly direction, you reach an extensive and rich province, that forms a part of the main land, and is named Lochac. Its inhabitants are idolaters. They have a language peculiar to themselves, and are governed by their own king, who pays no tribute to any other; the situation of the country being such as to protect it from any hostile attack. Were it assailable, the Grand Khan would not have delayed to bring it under his dominion. In this country sappan, or brazil wood, is produced in large quantities. Gold

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is abundant to a degree scarcely credible; elephants are found there, and the objects of the chase, either with dogs or birds, are in plenty. From hence are exported all those porcelain shells, which, being carried to other countries, are there circulated for money, as has been already noticed. Here they cultivate a species of fruit called berchi, in size about that of a lemon, and having a delicious flavour. Besides these circumstances there is nothing further that requires mention, unless it be that the country is wild and mountainous, and is little frequented by strangers, whose visits the king discourages, in order that his treasures and other secret matters of his realm may be as little known to the rest of the world as possible.

"Departing from Lochac, and keeping a southerly course for five hundred miles, you reach an island named Pentam, the coast of which is wild and uncultivated; but the woods abound with sweet scented trees. Between the province of Lochac and this island of Pentam, the sea, for the space of sixty miles, is not more than four fathoms in depth, which obliges those who navigate it to lift the rudders of their ships, in order that they may not touch the bottom. After sailing these sixty miles in a south-easterly direction, and then proceeding thirty miles further, you arrive at an island, in itself a kingdom, named Malaiur, which is likewise the name of its city. The people are governed by a king, and have their own peculiar language. The town is large and well built. A considerable trade is there carried on in spices and drugs, with which the place abounds. Nothing else that requires notice presents itself."

The description here given of the products of the country referred to is sufficient to show that they will not apply to Australia. There can be little doubt that the error has arisen, as I have said, from a series of blunders. Lochac is shown, from the judicious notes of Marsden, to have been, in all probability, intended for some part of the country of Cambodia, the capital of which was named Loech, according to the authority of Gaspar de Cruz, who visited it during the reign of Sebastian, King of Portugal (see Purchas, vol. iii, p. 169). To meet this conclusion, an error must be supposed in the direction of the course from Java, suggested by Marco Polo; meanwhile the country of Cambodia produces the gold, the spices, and the elephants, which are attributed to Lochac, the latter of which articles Australia does not produce. Pentam is reasonably supposed by Marsden, to be Bintam, and the island and kingdom of Malaïur (Maletur in the Basle edition of 1532, included in the *Novus Orbis* of Grynæus) to be the kingdom of the Malays. So much for the abstract assertion that Australia was discovered by the Chinese, as derived from the narrative

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of Marco Polo. I now come to the points more immediately touching upon the inquiry before us this evening. It is stated by Mr. Earp, that there is a tradition to confirm the assertion as taken from the Venetian traveller, and that that tradition is again confirmed by the fact that Chinese oars and other nautical implements were found in 1851, at a considerable depth beneath the surface of the ground.

Now I would here beg to state, that in the year 1857, Sir C. Nicholson informed me of the fact, that about the year 1851, as well as I can recollect, some keys were discovered in South Australia, underlying some twelve or thirteen feet of alluvial soil and on the surface of the chalk, suggesting the idea, from the probable length of time required for the accumulation of the alluvium, that these keys had been dropped by some very early discoverers, probably by the Portuguese. He also informed me that the keys shortly after their discovery had been shown to Mr. Latrobe, the Governor of Victoria. I was at that time engaged in preparing, for the Hakluyt Society, a work on *Early Voyages to Australia*, which I purposely kept open for six or seven years, in order to allow myself the fullest chance of embodying in my introduction, all the information I could possibly gather respecting the earliest discoveries. I naturally expressed a wish to know what the keys were like, in order to identify the period; but on this point Sir Charles was unable to enlighten me. Before the completion of my work, I had the satisfaction of a visit from Mr. Latrobe, to whom I recalled the circumstance. The whole romance of the incident, however, was entirely dispelled by his assuring me that he attached no importance whatever to the occurrence, as not only the keys had no antique appearance about them, but the accumulation of the alluvium was so rapid in the district where they were found, that he could not honestly pretend to attribute any antiquity whatever to the period when they might happen to have been dropped. Upon this evidence I did not think it worth while to mention the circumstance in the introduction to my book.

With this statement of the facts which have fallen under my cognizance, I venture to put the question to the members of the Ethnological Society, whether they can help me to any information as to the existence of aboriginal traditions respecting the early discovery of the country; and further, incidentally, to inquire whether any translation can be given to the topographical designation of "Nuca Antara."

I remain, dear Sir, yours very truly,

R. H. MAJOR.

To James Hunt, Esq., Ph.D., F.S.A.,
Hon. Secretary of the Ethnological Society of London.

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XXVIII.—*On the Classification of the Races of Man.*

By JOHN CRAWFURD, Esq., President.

I PROPOSE in this paper to explain the views which I have myself been led to entertain respecting the Classifications of Man, and may state at once that the conclusion I have come to is that mankind consists of many originally created species, and that the hypothesis of unity of race is without foundation.

The properties in which the different races or species of men, however otherwise differing, agree, are these:—There is a general accord in outward form and anatomical structure; the periods of gestation, of infancy, of boyhood, of puberty, of maturity, of decay, and of death, are essentially the same. The hybrids of any two races, however apparently remote, are invariably fertile.

The physical characters and mental endowments of man are so different and so remote from those of even the most highly organised of the lower animals, that it is seldom that any analogy between them will hold good. For example: The period of gestation with oxen is nine months, and it is the same with man; but the age of puberty with the ox is attained at about fourteen months, while it takes as many years to reach it with man. The ox has the bulk and strength of many men, but his length of life hardly exceeds one-third of that of man. The period of gestation with the horse is by two months more than with man, and he attains his full strength in about one-half the time which it takes man to reach the age of puberty, and yet his life does not exceed one-half that of man. The period of gestation with the elephant is by two-thirds longer than with man, and its bulk is equal to, at least, thirty men, but the duration of life is only the same with that of man.

The time for the union of the sexes with the lower animals is confined to specific seasons; with man it is left to his reason, and is nearly unlimited. The period of fecundity with mankind ends when life is little more than half over, so as to leave many years for the care and protection of the long childhood of the offspring. With the lower animals it extends to close on the termination of life, because the time required for the safety of the offspring is brief. With man, the care of the parents for their offspring is continued for their whole lives, and extends even to third and fourth generations. With the lower animals it wholly ceases when it is no longer necessary to their safety. With man, both parents take an equal interest in the offspring, while with the lower animals it is for the most part one only that does so.

The immeasurable superiority of man over the most highly

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gifted of the lower animals depends chiefly on his brain and its ministers, the hands, the latter being organs peculiar to him. By nature, man is unclothed and unarmed, and his food requires preparation. His innate ingenuity enables him to supply these wants, and necessity exercises and whets it. Had nature, on the contrary, furnished him with arms, clothing, and food, he would be reduced to the level of the brutes, only more astute than they.

Man is distinguished from the lower animals by his power of combination for a common purpose, a faculty possessed but in a very minor degree by a few of the lower animals. It is this power which enables him—physically weak as he is—to tame the elephant and to destroy the lion. He possesses the faculty of accumulating and hoarding knowledge, and handing that knowledge down from generation to generation. The lower animals in the wild state undergo no change from generation to generation, and if in the domestic they transmit to their posterity some peculiar properties, this has always been the work of man. The asses represented on the monuments of Egypt forty ages ago were, without doubt, as patient and occasionally as stubborn as those of the same country in the present day. Our living tame elephants are not more sagacious than were those which Porus brought against Alexander or Pyrrhus against the Romans; but the men who composed the little armies whose baggage they recently carried to Delhi and Lucknow would have made very short work with the Greeks of Alexander or Pyrrhus.

Most of the lower animals have a language of their own; but they are mere interjections to express pleasure, pain, or anger. The language of man at his creation must have been similar to, although of a somewhat higher order, since he could laugh and weep—attributes peculiar to him. It is his brain, and not any peculiar formation of his organs of speech, that has enabled man to construct language—properly so called. That languages are human creations can hardly be doubted, when we consider the vast number which exist, most frequently differing from each other in words, in structure, and in sound.

I need hardly add that the religious sentiment is peculiar to man. It is, indeed, a necessary consequence of his power of contemplation, and accordingly we find it to exist in one form or another in every social condition; grovelling in the savage, sanguinary or intolerant in the barbarian, — tolerant and enlightened only in the civilized man, and not, indeed, always even with him.

That the many separate and distinct races of man, when there has been no commixture, are originally created species,

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and not mere varieties of a single family,—such abnormal varieties as we find to spring up occasionally among the domestic animals, and even with man himself, although more rarely, there are many facts to show. The union of any two of the most opposite races of man results in a hybrid partaking equally of the character of both parents, just as the common mule partakes of the qualities of the horse and ass. The only difference is that the human hybrid is always fertile, and that the animal hybrid is usually unfruitful. The infertility of the latter, however, is by no means constant, and with very closely allied species of the same genus, the hybrid is as fertile as the human.

Several examples of the fertility of crosses of closely allied species of the lower animals can be adduced. The crosses of all dogs are as fertile as their parents; and when we consider that wild dogs, differing from each other, are found in India and Australia, and that native dogs were found in America, Arctic, Temperate, and Tropical, it seems hard to believe that all the dogs of the world, in their countless varieties, sprang from a single species. Of the bovine family, not fewer than ten species still exist in the wild state; and out of these, at least four unite with the domestic cattle to the production of a fertile hybrid. Several wild species of the goose and duck produce fertile hybrids with the domestic poultry of the same families.

No two species of man are so remote from each other as are the horse and the ass, or any other two species of the lower animals of the same family, the offspring of which are sterile mules, and hence all human hybrids are fertile. Man constitutes a genus of which all the species, however otherwise different, are, in so far as the union of the sexes are concerned, precisely the same; consequently an unfruitful hybrid would be with him an impossible monster.

The union of the highest and lowest species of the human race yields an intermediate progeny, inferior to the first, and superior to the last. The offspring of a Scandinavian and a Negro is inferior to the Scandinavian, and superior to the Negro. The offspring of an Englishman and an Australian degrades the Englishman, and somewhat improves the Australian. The Mestizo is much inferior to the Spaniard, but much superior to the Red Indian. The result of the union of a Chinese and a Malay—one of frequent occurrence—is a deterioration in the Chinese and an improvement in the Malay.

The union of closely allied species of the human race produces no appreciable change in the offspring. This applies to all the different races of the European family. The people of Italy have suffered no degradation from a large admixture of

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Greek and Teutonic blood, nor the inhabitants of France from an admixture of Italian and German blood; nor the people of England from a still larger of the latter.

On the subject of commixture, however, it is to be observed, that even in the union of the most opposite races, unless there be a fresh infusion of the blood of one of them, the original admixture disappears in about the fourth generation. Thus the great-grandchild of a Negress, by an European, without any fresh African blood, is not easily distinguishable from an European. In such a case where the races that commingle are nearly allied, a return to the character of the predominant stock is, of course, much quicker. Applying this fact to the commixture of nations of different but approximating races effected by conquest, it will occur that the conquerors, being always few in comparison with the conquered, the effect of the former in modifying the physical character of the latter must quickly cease, and in time become inappreciable. Thus the Northern Asiatic nations who conquered the Hindus and held them in subjection for seven centuries were of a different race from the Hindus, and compared with them, very few in number; and now, through intermixture, those claiming to be the descendants of the conquerors can rarely be distinguished from the aboriginal inhabitants. For the same reason, the influx of the Northern nations has probably produced very little change in the personal form, for example, of the Italians, who are probably at the present time very much what they were in the days of the Scipios.

Angles, Jutes, Saxons, and Danes poured into our own country for centuries, but they only came in boat-loads; and, although comparatively numerous, must at all times have been much inferior in number to the native inhabitants. The probability, then, is that we are more Britons than Teutons by pedigree, although, believing ourselves purely the latter, we call ourselves Anglo-Saxons. At the best we are but hybrids, yet, probably, not the worse for that.

Among the lower animals in the wild state, no hybrids are ever produced, and something similar to this, although from a very different cause, is found to be the case in the rude state of human society. There is here a repugnance, amounting, indeed, to hostility, which prevents it. Thus the negroes and fairer people of the Philippine Islands have immemorially dwelt in the same country without producing an intermediate race. There is no disposition to intermix between the negroes and the fairer people of the Polynesian Islands, although close neighbours, and consequently we see no mixed race. The Esquimaux and Red Indians, and the Caffres and Hottentots,

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although neighbours, do not intermix. It is only, indeed, in advanced and very artificial states of society that such mixed races are produced.

The advocates of Unity have argued that all the varieties of the races of man originated in such abnormal diversities as are occasionally known to spring up. This hypothesis will not bear examination. They do not point out the primordial stock from which the varieties have sprung; and it is admitted that within the range of history no such changes have actually taken place. The races, as far as history carries us, are now the same as they were in the earliest antiquity. As far as we can determine, the modern Copts do not differ from the men represented on the monuments of Egypt, nor do the modern Nubians differ from the Nubians of the same monuments. The Assyrians of the monuments of Nineveh are such Assyrians as may be seen in the same locality at the present day. The Hindus of North-Western India, as described by the cotemporaries or successors of Alexander, are, as far as we can judge, the Hindus of the same country at the present hour. Under the name of Seiks, they were lately seen gallantly fighting our battles under the walls of Pekin. Roman statues representing real personages two thousand years back are genuine portraits of many modern Italians. The authors of the inspired writings themselves seem to have been impressed with a belief in the unchangeableness of races, for one of them, computed to have written some five-and-twenty centuries ago, implies that the colour of the Ethiopian is as indelible as the spots of the leopard.

The variety which is known to exist in the different species of the lower animals, but more especially in those that are domesticated, has been adduced in illustration of the hypothesis of unity. But it is evident that any analogy between these animals and a being so incomparably remote from them as man can be of little value, not to say that we almost daily see before our eyes varieties springing up among some of the former, while history may be searched in vain for a single example of the origin of a new race of man.

Even among the lower animals the capacity of yielding varieties widely differs. The ass and camel, two of the animals longest enslaved by man, vary very little. The horse and dog, perhaps their contemporaries in domestication, produce endless varieties. The varieties in the ox are almost infinite, whereas the Indian buffalo varies little in size or form, being always either black or white. Scarcely any variety at all occurs in the elephant, immemorially bred in the domestic state in some countries of the East, for the rarity of "the white elephant," a mere albino too, is such that it is not worth naming. The

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varieties in the common fowl, the pigeon, and duck are endless: the goose is always either grey or white; the domestic swan is subject to no variation at all; and the same may be said of the guinea fowl, although as familiar to the ancient Romans as to ourselves.

Among the congenital varieties which now and then spring up in man, the Albino is that chiefly insisted on as evidence of the process by which the present diversity of races may have sprang from one stock. The Albino is a mere defect consisting in an absence of the colouring matter in the skin, the hair, and the eyes, its want in the latter being accompanied by imperfect vision. It is no more a natural variety of man than is hare-lip, or supernumerary fingers and toes. Like these, and several other congenital aberrations from the normal type, it may or may not be inherited. The offspring of an Albino negro and natural negro will be either a black negro or a negro wanting the colouring matter, and never a true hybrid or mulatto—a being partaking of the qualities of both parents. Such deformities as the Albino, it is evident, are far more likely to die out than to be perpetuated to the formation of a new race of mankind, and in fact they do die out, and spring up only rarely and sporadically —again to disappear.

Albinos in the lower animals have been quoted in illustration as showing how varieties in man may, as with them, have arisen. The white elephant and white deer are probably true Albinos, for with both there is defective sight; but it is certain that our ordinary domestic white varieties are not Albinos at all, for with them there is no defective vision nor defect in the integuments corresponding with the abnormal condition of the skin in the human Albino. The white ox, the white mallard, the white cock, the white rabbit, are as perfect varieties as the black ones of the same animals, neither the black nor the white being in these cases the original colours. While the female of the domestic goose is almost always grey, approaching nearest to the original colour, the male is almost always white; but he is not an Albino, for in size, strength, and power of vision he is at least equal to the female.

Dr. Prichard has founded upon the abnormal Albino one of the three classes as to colour into which he has thought proper to divide mankind, calling it the leucous or white, the other two being the melanous or black and the xanthous or yellow. A greater perversion of fact in support of a theory it would, in my judgment, be difficult to imagine than that of converting an accidental deformity of rare occurrence into a permanent order of nature, for the attempt literally amounts to nothing less than this.

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The distribution of the species of the human family over the earth seems to bear a striking analogy to that of plants and animals. In these the genera are often the same, but the species for the most part wholly different in different localities. In the same climates and the same altitudes the animals, for example, are generally different in Europe, Asia, Africa, America, and Australia. The innumerable apes of Asia, Africa, and America are, for example, all distinct from each other. With the exception of the dog, not one of our domesticated animals was found in America or Australia, but they thrive in both just as well as in their native countries. The cause of this seemingly capricious distribution, although without doubt a good and wise one, is a mystery far beyond our power of comprehension. It is the same with the races of man, for we find the five continents inhabited by men as different from one another as their respective lower animals. At the same distance from the Equator we find fair Greeks, yellow Chinese, and black Australians. As far as climate will allow—and the experiment has been tried—the races of different continents thrive and multiply in lands which are not their native ones. In America the white man prospers in countries of which the native inhabitants were all red men; and they thrive equally well in Australia, of which the aborigines were all black. The negro of tropical Africa lives, labours, and multiplies in temperate America. The Arab—a native of tropical and sub-tropical Asia—colonised Egypt, the southern shores of Africa, and, at one time, even Spain; and now we have the yellow Chinese exercising their laborious industry in America and Australia—the native abode of the red and the black man.

Migration has been referred as a cause adequate to account for the dispersion of mankind from a single stock and locality over nearly the whole earth. The most superficial examination, however, will soon satisfy us that the cause is wholly inadequate. A tribe prepared to migrate must have before it a clear open field, unobstructed by forests, mountain ranges, broad rivers, wide seas, and hostile neighbours. It must have attained a certain amount of civilization, implying the possession of a store of food with means of transport—cattle, or waggons, if the route were by land, and stout boats if by sea. It was only after they had become possessed of oxen, horses, sheep, and camels, with wheel-carriages, that the hordes of Tartary performed those migrations and conquests so famous in history. Rivers and mountain chains are obstacles sufficient to confine the rude inhabitants of America to very narrow localities. Hence the Americans, although all of the same race, were found to consist of many nations speaking distinct languages,

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who knew only their next neighbours, and these but as enemies. The exceptions were the Mexicans and Peruvians, and these had attained such strength by civilization as enabled them to spread, while the land was a clear unobstructed field for their enterprise. In a word, they had the power to migrate, and they did so.

The same race of man, the Polynesian—identified by the possession of the same physical form and the same language—is found scattered from the Sandwich group to New Zealand, and from the Friendly Isles to Easter Island over full sixty degrees of latitude and ninety of longitude. This wide diffusion of one race could only have taken place through migration, even supposing it to have been effected gradually and step by step through intermediate islands. The people that effected this must, before their enterprise, whether it was the result of chance or premeditation, have attained a considerable measure of civilization. This they had actually accomplished when Europeans first saw them, for they were in possession of stout capacious boats, of the yam, the batata, the dog, the hog, and common fowl, with a skill in navigation which enabled them to perform voyages of wonderful length for rude men.

But the migrations through which the earth is supposed to have been peopled from a single stock are very different from these, and, indeed, necessarily of a very miraculous character. They are supposed to have taken place shortly after the creation of man; and when he was without arts or knowledge. Very few countries when first discovered have been found without inhabitants, and these often of distinct and peculiar races. Madeira, the Azores, the Cape de Verdes, Mauritius, and Bourbon, are the most remarkable exceptions.

Notwithstanding this well attested fact, almost every country is imagined by one theorist or another to have been originally without human inhabitants, and to have been peopled from some other country far or near, so as to restrict the first man to a single spot somewhere or another, for no one has ventured to specify the primordial locality any more than the primordial race—to say whether the first was a temperate or a tropical region, or the last black, brown, yellow, or fair. I may give a few instances. Ireland is supposed to have had no inhabitants until peopled by migrations from Britain and Spain, and even Britain itself is imagined to have been uninhabited until peopled from the neighbouring continent. The continent of Australia, although its inhabitants be a peculiar race, wholly different from all other men—although its nearest neighbours in one quarter be Papuans and in another Malayans, and although even now without boats, and crossing their own rivers only on

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rude rafts, is fancied to have been peopled from some far land. Some word-catchers, on some fancied resemblance of lingual sounds, have even ventured to name the parent land of the Australians—namely, the extreme southern end of Hindustan, although the Tamils who inhabit that country bear far less resemblance to Australians than they do to Europeans, and although the two races are separated by three thousand miles of open ocean, which no Hindu has ever been known to have crossed.

Even the Hindus themselves are imagined by the theorists of migration to be emigrants from some country or another, while the wild tribes of Hindustan, who are very like Hindus, and very unlike all other people, are fancied to be its only aboriginal inhabitants. All this is insisted on in the teeth of the well ascertained fact that no such people as Hindus now exist, or are ever known to have existed, beyond the limits of the country they now inhabit.

The late Sir John Barrow went even a step in extravagance beyond this; and, although with personal experience of both races, pronounced the Hottentots to be a colony of Chinese, exhibiting a coloured engraving of each people to show how close, in his fancy, was the resemblance between them.

But the theory of peopling countries by migration has been carried to the greatest excess in respect to the New World. It abounds in animal life peculiar to itself, but the Creator is supposed to have made man a special exception. The late learned and laborious Dr. Prichard—to whom we are greatly indebted for his accumulation of ethnological facts, but very little for his reasoning on them—has adopted this theory in all its extravagance. After truly admitting that the arts and knowledge of the Americans down to the very construction of their languages were indigenous, he insists (to use his own words) that "it leaves us still at liberty to suppose that the first inhabitants of the New World were not the offspring of an American soil, but that they were people who wandered from the old continent in the earliest ages after the creation of mankind, bringing with them in the frail canoes in which they may have passed the Northern Pacific, or in their toilsome migration over Polar Seas none of the improvements of art, not even the first acquirements of pastoral or agricultural life."

This monstrous supposition is hardly worth the trouble of a serious refutation. Here we have a people without any arts whatever—even, indeed, before they had framed a language—passing from Asia to America, either over the ice and snow of the Arctic Circle or by crossing the broad Pacific. If they passed to America within the Arctic Circle, they must, in their

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helpless condition, have travelled over a region habitable only by Esquimaux, men created like the Polar bear to live in it, and in which our recent voyagers assure us that not even the neighbouring Red Man can live. If the emigrants went by the Pacific, that would imply a voyage in its narrowest part of a thousand miles, an achievement which certainly could not be performed in "frail canoes", or any canoes whatsoever possessed by savages. If the imaginative author had asserted that the transit of the Pacific had been effected by bold, strong swimming, instead of by frail canoes, he would not have been more wide of truth and probability. But the ingenious author forgets that the artless people whom he describes ought not to have had canoes at all. The Australians, in a far more advanced state of society than the helpless savages whom he imagines, have, as already noticed, no canoes to this day.

The Polynesian islanders are possessed of stout boats, possess considerable maritime skill, have food fit for sea-stock, and the ocean between them and America is a mild and temperate sea compared to the Pacific in high latitudes, but they have never reached America. I need hardly add that no race of man exists in Asia resembling the Red Man of America, as peculiar to the New World as its bisons, its panthers, and its turkeys.

Climate, with change of locality and of social condition, have been reckoned among the causes which have contributed to the formation of varieties in mankind, but actual experience, as far as it reaches, is at direct variance with this supposition. As long as the race continues unmixed, no change of climate appears to make any essential change in it. Negroes from equatorial Africa have been settled in the temperate regions and high table lands of America for near three centuries without undergoing any appreciable physical change. A colony from the temperate parts of Persia has been settled for a thousand years in inter-tropical India, and keeping themselves strictly unmixed, they still retain the physical form of Persians, and probably differ in no material respect from the contemporaries of Cyrus and Artaxerxes. The Spanish race has been settled within tropical America for three centuries and a half, but their Creole or pure descendants are in complexion and personal form in no essential point different from the Spaniards of old Spain. The Danes and Norwegians who have been settled in Greenland for more than two centuries are still of the genuine Teutonic race, whereas, had there been any virtue in change of climate, they ought by this time to have made some approach to the Esquimaux, who are the native inhabitants of the land.

The Turks of Europe have been quoted as an example of the alteration in physical form which climate, and change of locality,

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and social condition are capable of effecting. The alteration, however, it is obvious, is the result of intermixture with the conquered people far more numerous than themselves. By intermixture with Greeks, they have come to resemble Greeks, just as a branch of the same people have come to resemble Hindus.

That the races of man when originally called into existence were suited to the respective climates and localities they were created to inhabit is consistent with the order and wisdom of nature. It is, however, of the nature of the different races to have a less or more extensive geographical range. The range of the Esquimaux would seem to be confined to the hyperborean region, beyond which they are never seen; and it is as difficult to imagine them living under the equator as it is to fancy Malays, who in physical form bear them a considerable resemblance, to exist within the Arctic circle.

That different races of man have different capacities for withstanding vicissitudes of climate is very obvious, although changes of climate make no alteration in their physical form. The same race inhabits Tierra del Fuego, tropical America, and the shores of Hudson's Bay. The congenial range of the African negro probably does not go beyond thirty degrees of the equator. The Hindu has probably about the same range. Beyond this range neither of them could live and multiply. The Chinese is one of the races that has the most extensive range, for we find it labouring and flourishing at the equator in Sumatra, while it pushes colonies into Manchoo Tartary, all the while undergoing no change of physical form,—very little, indeed, even when partially intermixing with strange populations. No flourishing and prosperous community of the different races of the European family has ever existed in a lower latitude than 36°, but certainly there has never been an opportunity of giving the experiment a fair trial.

From all the facts which I have now stated, the conclusion at which I think we must arrive, and it is the same as that of the great majority of European writers, is, that man consists of a single genus composed of many species more or less closely allied. To distinguish all these species, and to describe them in clear and appropriate language, as naturalists do the species of the genera of the lower animals, is difficult, if not, indeed, impossible. The reasons are obvious: some of the races are so nearly allied that they pass into each other by such shades as to defy description. In some cases, again, confusion has been introduced by the intermixture of two or more closely allied races, a cause which has been most in operation with the most civilized nations, because they alone had the power of effecting great migrations and great conquests.

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But the greatest difficulty in distinguishing species arises from the fact of man being, even in the lowest state of society, in the condition which, in speaking of the lower animals, we call the domestic, and consequently subject, even within each species, to the endless variety induced by domestication. To such an extent does this cause of variety proceed, that no two individuals are ever born alike, while individuals of one species often occur, diverging so far from its normal type as to seem to belong to another allied one. This is exactly analogous to the variety which exists in most, although not all, our domesticated animals.

With wild animals the character of each species is distinct and nearly invariable, so that when we describe a single pair at different ages we describe the whole species. With man we can only obtain an average by the comparison of many individuals, and that average, from the complexity of the subject, it is very difficult to strike.

In attempting to define the different races or species, the points for consideration are—the complexion, the quality and quantity of the hair of the head and of other parts of the body, the colour and shape of the eye, the features, or (as defined by Dr. Johnson) "the cast and make of the face", the form of the person, the stature, the skeleton, and especially the skull the receptacle of the brain, and finally, the intellectual capacity. In most of these a very wide disparity will be found to exist.

In colour the skin ranges from the pure clear white of the Scandinavian to the ebony black of the Congo negro. Even within the same species there is always a wide range in the complexion. The language which we employ in describing the colour of different species—not to say that it is constantly varying even in the same species—is quite inadequate to convey a clear and distinct idea of the reality. We use the terms black, fair, yellow, red, brown, nut-brown, olive, cinnamon colour, copper colour, mahogany colour, swarthy, sallow, coal-black, sooty-black. These terms are, in fact, but approximations to the varieties in the tints of the human complexion, which are so great, and pass so insensibly from one shade to another, as to baffle description by words and even by painting.

Climate, I think, it may safely be asserted, has no permanent influence in the production of colour in the human complexion. It has pleased the Creator—for reasons to us inscrutable—to plant certain fair races in the temperate regions of Europe, and there only, and certain black ones in the tropical and sub-tropical regions of Africa and Asia, to the exclusion of white ones, but it is certain that climate has nothing to do with the matter. The Laplanders are much darker than the Norwegians, although

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much nearer to the Pole, or with less sun. In the same latitude with fair Swedes we find olive-coloured Kalmucks. At the same distance from the equator we find fair Europeans, yellow Chinese, red Americans, and black Australians. The Hindus are black, the Hindu-Chinese brown, ond the Chinese yellow, in the very same parallels of latitude. The Chinese do not vary in complexion over thirty degrees of latitude. The Hindus of the Punjab, thirty-five degrees distant from the equator, are as dark as those about Cape Cormorin, which is little more than eight degrees from it. The Malays under the equator are far fairer than the Hindus who dwell under parallels corresponding with those of the south of Europe. But to give an extreme case, these Malays of the equator are nearly of the same complexion with the Esquimaux of the arctic circle. In the whole New World, there was no black man and no white one.

As to the hair of the head, the beard, and the hair of other parts of the body, variety in colour prevails only with the races of Europe and those of contiguous parts of Western Asia, and with them we find it of every tint, from flaxen to black. With the rest of mankind it is always black. With the European races, the hair of the head is usually soft, silky, and buckling. With the races of the continent of Asia, of America, and generally with the Malayan and Polynesian nations, it is long, lank, and coarse. With the negroes of Africa it is short and woolly, covering the whole scalp. With the Oriental negroes it is also woolly in texture, but it grows in long isolated tufts.

With all the races of Europe, of Central Asia, and of Hindustan, the beard is usually abundant. With all the races of Tartary, with the Chinese and Hindu-Chinese, it is scanty, while with the Malays, the Polynesians, and Americans, it consists only of a few scattered hairs usually extirpated. The beard with the African negro is short, woolly, and scanty, corresponding with the hair of the head. It is more abundant with the Papuan negro, and considerable in amount with the Australian. The abundance or scantiness of the hair on other parts of the person corresponds with the beard.

The eye corresponds in colour with the skin and hair, and this varies only with the European races, among whom we find it grey, blue, azure, brown, hazel, black, while with the rest of mankind it is invariably black. The position of the eye in the Chinese, the nations of Tartary, and the Malays, is oblique, while with the nations of Europe, of Central Asia, and India, it is horizontal. As each category would embrace many different races, this last distinction is of small value.

The features of the face are of infinite variety even within the same race. Painting and photography may represent them,

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but they are indescribable by language. The most remarkable difference between races is in the nose. With the races of Europe, of Central Asia, and of India, it is elevated and symmetrical. With the Chinese, the Mongolian races, and Malays, it is low, short and snubby, giving the appearance of flatness to the whole face. In the African negroes it is large and very flat. With the American and Polynesian it is elevated, but not symmetrical.

The mouth of the African negro is easily distinguished by its projection, the obliquity of the teeth, and the great thickness of the lips, but beyond this I do not believe that the mouth would furnish a distinctive character for the other races of man.

With respect to stature, there is little difference between the great majority of mankind — Europeans, Hindus, Chinese, Americans, African negros, and Polynesians being nearly of the same height. The Malayan race, however, is by three inches short of this standard. The Esquimaux are under five feet; and some negros of the Malayan peninsula and Philippines even shorter.

A symmetrical form of person characterizes most of the races of man, as those of Europe, of Central Asia, of India, of China, of America, and of Polynesia, but a squab and ungainly one of others, as the Malays and Tartars.

In bodily strength there is no great disparity between the different races of Europe, who in this respect excel all others. No race comes so near those of Europe as the African negro. Some forty years ago, one of this race had nearly carried off the championship of England in the prize-ring, and with fair treatment, it is said, would have done so. An individual of any other race would have had no chance in such a contest. The Chinese and Hindus are of the same stature, but the personal strength of the Chinese is far greater than that of the Hindus. A native of New Zealand, a favourable specimen of the Polynesian race, is of the same stature and same breadth of chest with an Englishman, but the Englishman is superior to him in strength. Mr. Thomson, the intelligent author of *The Story of New Zealand*, found, on trial, that Englishmen could, on an average, raise fifty pounds of a heavy weight an inch from the ground beyond what could be accomplished by New Zealanders.

In the anatomical structure of man there is a common agreement, to which there is but a single exception, consisting in two remarkable peculiarities of the Hottentot, gratuitously supposed to be mere congenital varieties, as equally gratuitously is imagined to be the fatty tail of a particular breed of sheep. As, however, these peculiarities are general in the race, and

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found in no others, not even that inhabiting the same land, the Caffre, we must consider it as not accidental but primordial.

With respect to intellectual capacity, the differences between races is very great, a truth so patent that it is hardly necessary to insist upon it. If all the races of man were mere varieties of one pristine stock, we must be prepared to admit, as a corollary, that nature had allowed great degeneracy to take place in some or great improvement in others.

The difference in mental capacity between races can only be fairly tested by a comparison of their achievements under equal external conditions, for assuredly there is no ground whatever for the supposition that some races, being of earlier creation than others, have consequently enjoyed a longer time to mature civilization. The Egyptians, the Hindus, and Chinese were probably placed in a condition equally favourable. They had all three fertile soils, rivers fit for irrigation and intercommunication, products animal, vegetable, and mineral, adapted for elaboration, with temperate climates. Notwithstanding this apparently absolute equality of conditions, the fruits were different in quality and in magnitude, and for practical utility it may be fairly asserted that the Chinese have excelled both Egyptians and Hindus.

The Hindu-Chinese race, with apparently the same advantages of fertile lands and navigable rivers as the Hindus and Chinese, are in civilization far below both of them.

Some of the inhabitants of the New World were placed by nature in a state perhaps as favourable to the development of civilization as the ancient people of Egypt, but they were, when first seen by Europeans, very far from having made the same advance as the Egyptians had made four thousand years before. Little more than two centuries ago certain European colonies began to be planted in the same New World, and this not in the most genial part of it, and within the short time which has elapsed they have grown into a great nation, equalling any, and excelling in civilization most of the nations of Europe.

The negroes of Africa have never attained the civilization of the Egyptians and Mauritaneans of the same continent. They never invented letters, and very rarely adopted those of strangers. Equal in bodily strength to Europeans, but inferior not only to them, but even to most Asiatic nations in mental capacity, they have permitted themselves to become the bondsmen of the latter long before Europeans engaged in the nefarious practice of enslaving them. In the large and fertile island of St. Domingo they have been free from the yoke of slavery and of strangers for half a century, but are still barbarians.

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The negroes of the Islands of the Pacific, inhabiting lands as fertile and as much abounding in the requisites to civilization as those inhabited by the Polynesians of brown complexion, are invariably found in a lower state of civilization than the latter, a difference which can hardly be attributed to any other cause than inferior mental endowment, since in stature and bodily strength they are equal, if not superior.

But there are, in some cases, physical and geographical obstacles to the early advancement of civilization, which, however high the natural quality of the race, it is difficult to suppose could have been overcome without the example of more civilized ones. In the cold climate and deep forests of Germany, Gaul, Britain, and Scandinavia, the same early development could not be reasonably looked for as in the genial climates of Greece, Italy, and Egypt, and there civilization was chiefly owing to Roman example. Russia is a still more striking case. Its civilization has been chiefly owing to the influence and example of the more advanced nations of Europe, more especially of the Germans, and is of very recent origin, still going on, indeed, under our own eyes.

A few instances exist in which both race and conditions are so unfavourable, that any respectable amount of civilization would seem hopeless. The Esquimaux and the inhabitants of the Frozen Ocean are of this description, dwelling, as they do, in a region of ice and snow, and with a night of half the year's length; and so excluded from every agricultural pursuit, civilization was impossible. To great intellectual inferiority of race, the inhabitants of Australia, of New Guinea, and of the Andaman Islands, laboured under the privations of alimentary plants amenable to culture, and of animals amenable to domestication, and they were found to be seemingly irreclaimable savages.

By some writers it has been asserted that no civilization would anywhere have sprung up without an example being set, but this is an untenable doctrine; for surely at least one independent, indigenous civilization must have spontaneously arisen somewhere to set the required example. In fact, many different categories of civilization have sprung up at many independent points. Taking the invention or adoption of written language as the test, we can enumerate the civilizations of Egypt, Greece, Italy, Assyria, Persia, Indo-China, China, Japan, and the Indian Archipelago. These, no doubt, varied greatly in strength, and some of them required help from others, but still they were essentially of independent origin.

The incomparable superiority of the European races over those of Asia, and still more over those of Africa and America,

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is an undeniable fact. In the case of the Asiatic races, we have the history of five-and-twenty centuries in proof. Alexander, with an army of about 30,000 Greeks, subdued the most potent nations of Asia up to the Western confines of India. We ourselves, with numbers probably not exceeding 100,000, maintain dominion over 200,000,000 of Indians; and with a force not greater than that of Alexander, two European nations are now dictating humiliating terms to a people numbering 400,000,000, who were clothed in silk when the forefathers of the invaders were clad in the skins of wild beasts, and both their countries permanently subdued by a few Roman legions.

A wide difference in the intellectual faculties of the different species of the human family is, then, a fact beyond all question, and there exists no valid evidence in this respect any more than in respect to physical form to show that the diversity was otherwise than primordial.

In classing and defining the races of man, philology has been much relied on. It is valuable in tracing migrations, settlements, and conquests, but as evidence of race, it is not implicitly to be relied on; and the reasons are obvious. Speech is a mere acquirement—the result of the innate faculties of the human mind—like any other adventitious acquisition flowing from the same cause. If it were intrinsic, it would, like laughing and weeping, be the same throughout the whole human family. Instead of being so, languages are far more diverse than races themselves; for in the very same race innumerable distinct languages are found to be spoken. This is strikingly exemplified in the languages of the Red man of America, of the negroes of Africa, of the Malayan race, and in the many tongues of Australia, in each of which cases the race is unquestionably the same, and different from all others.

Other evidence to the same effect is abundant. Young children of one race can learn the language of another race, to the exclusion of the parental tongue,—can forget that, and acquire another tongue; or dropping this also, can end in learning the language of their parents.

Race may, indeed, exist without language. It does so in infants, because the brain is yet without the power of acquiring it, just as the legs are without the power of walking. The congenital deaf are destitute of language, because they are without the organ for making the acquisition; but a deaf and dumb Negro or Hindu is not less of the Negro or Hindu race because wanting the faculty of speech. Although born deaf, they belong to them, as much as do Albinos of the same races, although born without the colouring matter of the skin and hair.

A race may lose its original tongue and come to speak a

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foreign idiom—a fact of which we have many examples. The Jews speak the languages of the many races among whom they are settled, and no section of them speaks the language of the Pentateuch, or any modification of it. The Egyptians speak Arabic nearly to the loss of their original tongue. Dialects springing from a single language of Italy have gone far towards superseding the many tongues which were spoken in Italy, France, and Spain two thousand years ago. A German tongue with an admixture of Latin, is now the language of the great majority of the people of Britain, superseding, in a great measure, the tongues spoken by the aboriginal inhabitants of the island. Assuredly we do not conclude from these facts that the ancient Egyptians were of the Arabian race, the aboriginal people of France and Spain of Italian, or those of Britain of the German. What we should infer, even if we did not know it to be historically true, is simply that the countries in question were long in the occupation of foreign invaders, who mixed their blood largely with that of the original inhabitants, resulting in the production of a hybrid population originating in races distinct, yet nearly allied.

When man was first called into existence, we may conjecture that he was planted over the earth in many small families or groups, often consisting of distinct species, or when not so of a single species, adapted to a variety of climates. To be thus few in number and widely dispersed was necessary to his preservation, since otherwise, in his first helpless condition, he would not have been able to supply himself with food and clothing, and protect himself from ferocious animals. In such an isolated state, each little group would construct its own separate language, in the same manner in which it gave a peculiar form to its wigwam, its club, its bow, and its canoe, and hence the multiplicity of tongues, and the variety in their words and structures.

In the earlier periods of man's existence, languages were, therefore, very numerous, and in the progress of society we know that they have been constantly diminishing in number, being always few in proportion to civilization, and numerous in proportion to barbarism.

Diminution in the number of languages is, of course, the result of conquest. A strong tribe subdues a weak one, and either exterminates it along with its language, or imposes upon it its own tongue. Many examples of the total disappearance of languages have taken place in the New World, even within the short period which has elapsed since its discovery. Many of the islands of the Pacific Ocean are peopled by a single race speaking the same language. This could only be the result of

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migration—could only have taken place after advancement in society had conferred the skill and strength necessary to its accomplishment. Some of the islands in question are of considerable, and two of them, the New Zealand isles, of great size. Unless, then, unlike most other parts of the world, they were altogether destitute of human inhabitants, we must suppose them to have been peopled by their own aborigines, who, with their languages, were exterminated by invaders.

Some languages have been preserved only through the art of writing. In intelligent Europe we know who the people were who spoke and the countries in which were spoken Hebrew, Egyptian, and Latin, but in puerile and inconstant Asia, we cannot exactly tell the nation and race that spoke, or the countries in which were spoken, Sanskrit, Zend, and Pali, although these were once vernacular tongues as much as were Greek, Latin, and Hebrew.

From all that has now been stated, I think it must be obvious that to classify mankind—as naturalists do the lower animals in the wild state—is hopeless. Such a classification with the lower animals in the domestic state is admitted to be impracticable, and with man, ever in the domestic state, the difficulty opposed to such an arrangement cannot be less. Such attempts, however, have been made, the most remarkable of which is that of Cuvier and Blumenbach, modified by Prichard. These writers consider man as one genus and one species, and the divergences from a supposed original type, or stock, not as distinct species, but mere varieties, the result of time and chance, and such as are of frequent occurrence, not in the genera, but in the species of the lower domesticated animals.

The varieties of Cuvier and Blumenbach consist of five only, those of Prichard of seven, the many divergences from these imagined primary types being considered as sub-varieties. The very names given to the primary varieties involve hypothesis and error. The first variety of Cuvier and Blumenbach, embracing the people of Europe and others supposed to resemble them, and which is fancied to be the stock from which the other four proceeded, these writers call the Caucasian, after the Range of the Caucasus. This supposes the first man to have been planted in a mountain region, of all others the locality most likely to breed a home-keeping and rude population, destitute of the capacity and enterprise which would impel it to migrate and people the earth. It supposes, moreover, that the inhabitants of the Caucasus exhibit the most perfect examples of the human form,—a gratuitous and groundless hypothesis.

Prichard rejects the term Caucasian, and adopts that of

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Iranian, equally theoretical, in its stead. This is derived from Iran, a mythic name of Persia, and of course, it transfers the first cradle of man from the Caucasian Range to Persia. This also is founded on a very wild theory, namely, that the Persians, Hindus, and Europeans—the brown, the black, and the fair men, who, as far as our experience extends, have ever been, psychologically as well as physically different—belong to one and the same stock, and this because the features of their faces and the shape of their skulls have a common resemblance, and because there is an agreement, or supposed agreement, in a few words of the many languages of some of them. Prichard converts the Mongolian variety of his predecessors into the Turanian, but the change is very far from an improvement. The term is the correlative of Iran, and refers to the country lying immediately east of Persia, which, instead of containing a race of Mongols or Tartars, is peopled by one much resembling the Persians themselves, and belonging rightfully, therefore, to his first variety.

Such classifications as these are purely arbitrary,—indeed, purely imaginary. In the same category we find placed men as different from each other as are the different species of bears, wolves, and foxes, or of oaks or palms. Blumenbach, for example, places the Australians and the Africans of Madagascar among his Malays, the three people being as remote from each other as any races of mankind that could well be named. Both writers place in the same variety Europeans, Persians, Syrians, Arabs, and Hindus, for no other reason than that their skulls and features bear some resemblance.

Blumenbach has no distinct place for the Oriental negroes, whom he seems to ignore, as if they had no existence. Prichard makes them and the Hottentots two distinct varieties, and hence the two varieties which he adds to those of Blumenbach and Cuvier. These authors have a Malayan variety, but Prichard none. The latter, however, has a variety of his own which he denominates the Alforian, but this turns out to be an invention, for no such people as Alfoers exists. Alfoers (sometimes written Aarafora) is the corruption of the Portuguese Alfora, applied by the Portuguese of the Indian Archipelago to any wild insular tribe whatsoever. The word is derived, to all appearance, from the Arabic article *al*, and the preposition *fora*, without, and literally signifies the people beyond the pale of Portuguese jurisdiction. These Alfoers may be indifferently Negroes or Malays, yet in this imaginary class Prichard includes the Australians, who are neither the one nor the other.

Seeing such monstrous incongruities, one is not surprised to find that in his *Cosmos* Baron Humboldt—who had the tra-

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velled experience which Cuvier, Blumenbach, and Prichard wanted — pronounces their arrangements as possessing "no typical rigour" and "no recognisable principle of natural classification."

The skull is the portion of the human body which has been more especially relied on as a test of the variety of races. We are told that that of the Caucasian variety is oval and symmetrical, that of the negro narrow and elongated, that of the Mongolian pyramidal, etc., etc. But these are vague and general terms which admit of many gradations, while one form runs so insensibly into another that the skull of a Malay may be easily taken for that of an Esquimaux, or even that of an European for that of an African negro. Prichard has denominated the Mongolian form of skull "the pyramidal," and the negro "the prognathous," or "snouty;" but these technical terms contribute no more to the extent or precision of our knowledge than his melanous, xanthous, and leucous—his Iranian and Turanian varieties, for they are all alike vague and factitious, their utter worthlessness not being the less because they are veiled in a kind of scientific language.

For the last half century a vast amount of anatomical skill and labour has been exercised upon the skull, in the hope—always defeated—of making it a distinctive test of race. No one has contributed more to this than Dr. George Williamson, who has written an elaborate essay on the subject. This careful observer examined no fewer than 549 skulls from almost every country in the world, as they exist in the Military Museum of Chatham; but it is clear from the result that he has been wholly unable to frame any lucid arrangement.

Dr. Williamson appears to adopt the arrangement of the Chatham Museum, which divides skulls into four classes only —namely, skulls which are oval and symmetrical—skulls which are prognathous or snouty—skulls which have remarkably prominent supercilial ridges, and skulls with broad and flat faces. This very summary and purely arbitrary classification forces into the same category races admitted to be distinct, while it separates races admitted to be the same. It seems to me to have no value whatever, unless it be to prove that the form of the skull is no test of race at all. It places such discordant races as Europeans, Hindus, Arabs, and Assyrians in the same class. Under the same head we have in it people so utterly different as Chinese, Burmese, Esquimaux, and Red Indians. It classes African negroes with Papuans and Australians, and it places in separate categories Sandwich Islanders, Tahitians, and New Zealanders, well ascertained to be of one and the same race. It is not the arrangement of Blumenbach

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or of Prichard, but it is productive of as much confusion as either of them.

Dr. Williamson himself, indeed, appears incidentally to admit the inadequacy of his classification. Four out of fifteen Caffre skulls which he examined, he says, "display the European characters in every particular. Some even resemble the best-formed Greek skulls." Of the remaining eleven, he tells us that they are "intermediate between the negro and European." He places the Australians, and this simply on account of the prominence of the jaws, in the same class as the African negroes, and yet he thus describes their skills:—"They are large, oval skulls, with an oval face, and with the exception of the projecting alveolar processes, they have not one point of resemblance to the negro." The Australian skull, according to his account, is, in fact, European, and ought to have contained European brains, which it assuredly did not.

In the Chatham Museum there are eighty-seven skulls of natives of our own islands, and of these Dr. Williamson says: "I have not thought it necessary to separate the English, Scots, and Irish, as the races are now so mixed, that if there were ever any difference or peculiarity in the conformation of their crania, this has now become inappreciable." I have myself no doubt that if the races had been ever so unmixed, there would have been no appreciable difference in their skulls; and in this case, what would be the value of the skull in distinguishing Celt from Saxon?

The facial angle of Camper, once in much vogue, has long fallen into merited disrepute. Depending almost wholly on the mere form of the face, and excluding the seat of the brain, it necessarily excluded whatever the form or bulk of the brain could tell of the intellectual quality of a race. The angle, owing to the projection of the jaws, is acute in the African negro, and in a lesser degree in the Oriental negro and Australian, but in the great majority of mankind it cannot be shown that there is any appreciable difference at all.

Dr. Williamson, the careful scientific inquirer above quoted, has given us nearly sixty measurements of the facial angle. According to Camper's method, which includes the lower jaw, the following are examples. At the top of the scale stands the German, with an angle of 78.30; and next to him, and differing from him by no more than 1.5, stands a Hottentot, who is by no less than 4.19 better than a Greek, whose skull is usually considered the model form. An Australian skull is better than a Chinese by four decimals, and a Burmese skull excels an English one by two decimals.

The measurement of the cranium, excluding the lower jaw,

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gives very different, but equally fallacious results: here, too, the German is at the top of the scale, standing at 87.80, or nine degrees higher than with the lower jaw. The Greek skull is no less than 4.28 below the German, and the English as much as 6.80. The Albanian, the Australian, and the Chinese skull are on a level. French, Spanish, and Polynesian skulls have the same angle, and this is, by 1.20, below that of the Australian skull. The skull of the Sandwich Islander is by one degree higher than that of the New Zealander, the two skulls belonging to parties notoriously of the same race of man. Than the facial angle, then, no more ingenious contrivance for insuring disorder could in my judgment be well imagined.

The cranial capacity which refers to the bulk, but neither to the form or quantity of the brain, would seem to promise better as an indication of races than the mere outward shape of the skull, is, I suspect, little to be trusted. Dr. Morton, a skilful and careful inquirer, made a long series of experiments on the subject, and has given us the results. The following are some of the principal ones. The average cranial capacity of Australian skulls was found to be 75 cubic inches; of Oceanic negroes, or Papuans, 76 inches; of ancient Egyptians, 80 inches; of native Americans, 80.3 inches; of African negroes, 82.25 inches; of Persians and Armenians, 84; of Chinese, 85; of Hindus, 86; of Celts, represented by Irishmen, 87; of the Esquimaux, 89; of the Arab, 89; and of the German or Teuton, 95.

In a few of the cases thus cited the quantity of the brain would seem to correspond with its quality, as in the examples at the top and bottom of the scale, but in the greater number of instances the test is clearly most fallacious. We cannot, for example, believe that the ancient Egyptians who invented letters were inferior to the African negroes who never did so. We cannot believe that the Hindus and Malays have better brains than Chinese, simply because they have bulkier ones. Still less can we admit that an Esquimaux brain is better than an Irish one, because it is by two cubic inches more in quantity.

By the view of the mere skull, or indeed of the entire skeleton, the most skilful comparative anatomist cannot distinguish the different species of the canine, bovine, or equine families. He cannot tell whether the skull before him be that of a dog, a wolf, a jackal, or a fox. He cannot tell whether an ox's skull is that of the wild yak of Tibet, or of any one of the several wild oxen of India and its islands. He cannot distinguish between the skulls of horses, asses, and zebras. If the skull be a fossil one, he readily tells that it belongs to the canine, bovine, or equine family, but he cannot tell whether to a living or extinct species of these.

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If the inquiry of the comparative anatomist should extend to the varieties of the animals in question produced by domestication, his embarrassment and helplessness would only be increased, yet man is in the same domesticated condition as these, while the affinity of the races is far closer. What, therefore, is impossible with the lower animals must be equally so with man, and it follows that the skull, viewed in whatever aspect, is, as a test of race, utterly illusory.

Deep in the stalagmite of certain caves on the Continent there have lately been discovered human skulls, along with bones of the mastodon and other extinct animals, with which they are pronounced by eminent naturalists to be contemporary. Some observers are disposed to consider those skulls to have belonged to a race of man different from those who have inhabited Europe within the historic period. I cannot agree with them, and do not doubt but that they will be found to differ in no material respect from the skulls found in ancient tumuli, or in even modern churchyards.

Although neither the skull or any other single character is sufficient to distinguish the races of man—nor indeed, in the majority of cases, all possible characters combined, still there are a few instances—generally those of rude and isolated tribes —in which the distinction of races seems clear enough. Among these may be reckoned the Australians, the negroes of New Guinea, those of New Ireland, those of Mallicollo one of the Cylades, those of Tanna one of the New Hebrides, those of the Fiji Islands, those of the Andaman Islands, those of the Malayan Peninsula, those of the Philippines and those of Madagascar, the Bhutias, the Tibetians, the Polynesians, the Kamschatcadales, the Alutian Islanders, the Hottentots, and the Esquimaux. Here, then, instead of the five races of Cuvier and Blumenbach, or the seven of Prichard, we have no fewer than seventeen well defined ones, widely differing among themselves, and distinct from the rest of mankind.

These rude races, however, embrace but a small portion of mankind, and we have large groups in which the race is sufficiently distinct, and the variations very trifling. These include the Chinese, the Japanese, the Hindu-Chinese, the Hindus, the Malays, the native Americans, the Mauritanians or Berbers, and the Egyptians. These, although not so free from variety as the rude races above named, may still be considered as primordial species, and, if so, the total number will rise to five-and-twenty.

Other large groups are more diversified, such as the European, the African negro, the Persian, the Syrian, and the Arab. Some of these contain within themselves races, probably as distinct

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at their creation, although closely allied, as Australians or Polynesians. In the European, for example, we have the Sclavonic, the German or Teutonic, the Celtic, the Greek, the Italian, and, very probably, the Spanish or Iberian. The African negro is still more split into races, such as the Caffres and Zullas.

These, however, are not all the races that might be enumerated, for north of the chain of the Himalaya up to the Frozen Ocean there are many tribes which, although agreeing in some respects with the Mongols, differ from them essentially in corporeal and mental endowments. In Western Asia, we find races resembling Europeans, but palpably differing from them, such as Circassians, Georgians, and Armenians; while to the north of Europe we have the Laplanders, and in Africa, the Nubians and Abyssinians.

Here, then, we have some forty races of man, which, to pack into the five pigeon-holes of Cuvier and Blumenbach, or the seven of Prichard, would produce confusion instead of order.

Often the disparity between races is so conspicuous, that there can be no question of their being perfectly distinct varieties, or even species, as in the example of the European and the African negro, or of the Hindu and the Chinese. On the other hand, some races so much resemble each other, that they may easily be mistaken. An Esquimaux within the Arctic Circle bears a close resemblance to a Malay under the Equator; and a negro of New Guinea has been mistaken for a negro of Old Guinea, although 12,000 miles of ocean divide the two races.

From all that has been stated in this paper, I must come to the conclusion that, to classify the races of man as we do the genera and species of wild plants and animals, is wholly beyond our power, and that the attempts hitherto made with this view are unscientific and delusory.

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